IMMOTA TRIUMPHANS
PONDERE VIRTUS

B. N.C.
F. MA[illegible]AN
OXFORD

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ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ

THE POURTRACTURE OF HIS SACRED MAJESTIE IN HIS SOLITUDES AND SUFFERINGS

With PRAYERS used in the time of His Restraint;

Also His MAJESTIES Reasons against the pretēded Jurisdiction of the *High Court of Justice.*

ROM. 8. More then Conqueror, &c.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.

Hereunto is annexed
A Letter from the Prince of *Wales.*

Reprinted in Regis Memoriam.
Anno 1649.

D.

An Epitaph upon King CHARLES.

So fals that ſtately Cedar; while it ſtood
That was the onely glory of the Wood;
Great *Charls*, thou earthly God, celeſtial Man,
Whoſe life, like others, though it were a ſpan:
Yet in that ſpan, was comprehended more
Than Earth hath waters, or the Ocean ſhore;
Thy heavenly virtues, Angels ſhould reheark,
It is a theam too high for humane Verſe:
He that would know thee right, then let him look
Upon Thy rare-incomparable Book,
And read it o're and o're; which if he do,
Heel find thee *King*, and *Prieſt*, and *Prophet* too;
And ſadly ſee our loſſe, and though in vain,
With fruitleſſe wiſhes call thee back again.
Nor ſhall oblivion ſit upon thy Herſe,
Though there were neither Monument, nor Verſe
Thy ſuffrings & thy Death let no Man name
It was thy Glory, but the Kingdoms ſhame.

F. H.

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To these are annexed,

His MAJESTIES Prayers used in the time of His Restraint.

And a Copy of a letter from the Prince to the KING. Delivered to Doctor Juxon upon the Scaffold.

Also His intended Reasons against the High Court of Justice.

Likewise, His Majesties Speech to the Lady Elizabeth.

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

Upon His Majesties calling this last Parliament.

His last P[illegible] I called, not [illegible] others advice, and necessitie of my affairs, than by my own choise and inclination, who have alwaies thought the right way of Parliament, most safe for my Crown, as best pleasing to my People: And although I was not forgetfull of those sparks which some mens distempers formerly studied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbearing to convene for some years, I hoped to have extinguished) yet resolving with my self to give all just satisfaction to modest and sober desires, and to redresse all publick grievances in Church and State, I hoped (by my Freedom and their Moderation) to prevent all misunderstandings and miscarriages in this: in which as I feared affairs would meet with some passion and prejudice in other men; so I resolved they should find least of them in my self, not [illegible] but by the weight of Reason I [illegible] counterpoize he over-balancing of any Passions.

I was indeed sorry to hear [illegible] partialitie and popular heat [illegible] carried in many places; yet hoping that the gravity and discretion of other Gentlemen would allay and fix the Commons to a due temperament (guiding some mens wel-meaning zeal

by such rules of moderation as are best both to preserve and restore the health of all States and Kingdoms:) No man was better pleased, with the convening of this Parliament then my self; who knowing best the largeness of my own Heart toward my Peoples good and just contentment, pleased my self most in that good and firm understanding which would hence grow between me and my People.

All jealousies being laid aside, my own and my Childrens Interests gave me many obligations to seek and preserve the love and welfare of my Subjects. The onely temporal blessing that is left to the ambition of just Monarchs, as their greatest Honour and safety, next Gods protection; I cared not to lessen my self in some things of my wonted Prerogative; since I knew I could be no loser, if I might gain but a recompence in my Subjects affections.

I intended not onely to oblige my friends but mine enemies also; exceeding even the desires of those that were factiously discontented, if they did but pretend to any modest and sober sense.

The *vitium* and offences which some men's rigour or remisness in Church and State had contracted upon my Government, I resolved to have expiated by such Laws and Regulations for the future, as might not onely rectify what was amisse in practice; but supply what was defective in the constitution: No man having a great zeal to see Religion setled, and preserved in Truth & Unity, and order than my self; whom it most concerns both in piety and policy; as knowing, that, No flames of civil dissentions are more dangerous than those which make religious precensions of the grounds of Factions.

I resolved to reform what I should

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free and full advice in Parliament be convinced to be amisse; and to grant what ever my Reason and Conscience told me was fit to be desired; I wish I had kept my self within those bounds, and not suffered my own Judgement to have been overborn in some things, more by others Importunities, then their Arguments; My confidence had lesse betrayed my self and my Kingdoms to those advantages which some men sought for, who wanted nothing but power, and occasion to do mischief.

But our sinnes being ripe, there was no preventing of Gods Justice, from reaping that glorie in our calamities, which we rob'd him of in our prosperity.

FOr thou (O Lord) hast made us see, that Resolution, of future Reforming do not alwaies satisfie thy Justice, nor prevent thy vengeance for former miscarriages.

Our sins have overlaid our hopes: Thou hast taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpose to amend.

When thou hast vindicated thy glory by thy Judgements, and hast shewed us how unsafe it is to offend thee, upon presumptions afterwards to please thee. Then I trust thy mercies will restore those blessings to us, which we have so much abused, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timely repentance of our sinnes, thou giveſt us cause to Repent of those Remedies we too late apply.

Yet I do not Repent of my calling this last last Parliament, because, O Lord, I did it, with an upright intention to thy glory, and my Peoples good.

The miseries which have ensued upon me and my Kingdoms, are the just effects of thy displeasure upon us; and may be yet (through

thy mercy) preparatives of us to future bleſſings and better hearts to enjoy them.

O Lord, though thou haſt deprived us of many former comforts; yet grant me and my People the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chaſtiſements; that thy rod as well as thy ſtaff may comfort us: Then ſhall we dare to account them the ſtrokes not of an enemy, but a Father: when thou giveſt us thoſe humble affections, that meaſure of patience in repentance, which becomes thy Children; I ſhall have no cauſe to repent the miſeries this Parliament hath occaſioned, when by them thou haſt brought Me and my People unfeignedly to repent of the ſins we have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our ſufferings, then our peace could be with our ſins.

O thou Soveraign goodneſſe and wiſdome, who over-ruleſt all our Counſels; over-rule alſo all our hearts; that the worſe things we ſuffer by thy Juſtice, the better we may be by thy Mercy.

As our ſins have turned our Antidotes into Poyſon, ſo let thy Grace turn our Poyſons into Antidotes.

As the ſins of our Peace diſpoſed us to this unhappy War, ſo let this war prepare us for thy bleſſed Peace.

That although I have but troubleſome Kingdoms here, yet I may attain to that Kingdom of Peace in my Heart, and in thy Heaven, which Chriſt hath purchaſed, and thou wilt give to thy ſervant (though a ſinner) for my Saviours ſake, *Amen.*

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2. *Upon the Earl of* Straffords *death.*

I Looked upon my Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whoſe great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then aſhamed to employ him in the greateſt affairs of State.

For thoſe were prone to create in him great con-

confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errours, and many enemies: Whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a sphear, and with so vigorous a lustre, he must needs (as the Sun raise meny envious exhalations, which condensed by a popular *clima*, were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest meri , and integrity.

Though I cannot in my Judgement approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the necessities of times, and the Temper of that People, more then led by his own disposition to any highth and rigour of actions, yet I could never be convinced of any such criminousnesse in him, as willingly to expose his life to the stroke of Justice, and malice of his enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affairs, then in the businesse of that unfortunate Earl: when between my own unsatisfiednesse in Conscience, and a necessitie (as some told me) of satisfying the importunities of some people; I was perswaded by those, that I think wished me well, to chuse rather what was safe, then what seemed just; preferring the outward peace of my Kingdoms with men, before that inward exactnesse of Conscience before God.

And indeed I am so far from excusing or denying that compliance on my part (for plenary consent it was not) to his destruction, whom in my judgement I thought not, by any clear Law guilty of death: That I never bare any touch of Conscience with greater regret: which as a sign of my repentance, I have often with sorrow confessed both to God and men, as an act of so sinfull frailtie, that it discoverd more a fear of man, then of God, whose name and place on earth no man is worthy to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of State by acts of so high injustice, as no publick conveniencie can expiate or compensate.

I see it a bad exchange to wound a mans own Conscience, thereby to salve State-sores; to calm the storms of popular discontents, by stirring up a tempest in a mans own bosom.

Nor hath Gods Justice failed in the event and sad consequences, to shew the world the fallacy of that Maxim, *Better one man perish (though unjustly) then the people be displeased, or destroyed:* For,

In all likelyhood, I could never have suffered, with my People, greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Straffords* innocency, at least by denying to sign that destructive *Bill*, according to that Justice, which my Conscience suggested to me, then I have done since I gratified some mens unthankfull importunities with so cruell a favour. And I have observed that those, who counselled me to sign that *Bill*, have been so far from receiving the rewards of such ingratiatings with the People, that no men have been harassed and crushed more then they. He onely hath been least vexest by them, who counselled me, not to consent against the vote of my own Conscience; I hope God hath forgiven me and them the sinfull rashnes of that businesse.

To which being in my soul so fully conscious, those judgements God hath pleased to send upon me, are so much the more welcome; as a means (I hope) which his mercy hath sanctified so to me, as to make me repent of that unjust Act, (for so it was to me) and for the future to teach me, That the best rule of policy is to prefer the doing of Justice, before all enjoyments; and the peace of my Conscience, before the preservation of my Kingdoms.

Nor hath any thing more fortified my resolutions against all those violent importunities, which since have sought to gain alike consent from me to Acts, wherein my Conscience is unsatisfied, then the sharp touches I have had

for

for what passed me in my Lord of *Straffords* Businesse.

Not that I resolved to have employed him in my affairs, against the advice of my Parliament, but I would not have had any hand in his Death, of whose Guiltinesse I was better assured then any man living could be.

Nor were the crimes objected against him so clear, as after a long and fair hearing, to give convincing satisfaction to the Major part of both Houses; especially that of the Lords, of whom scarce a third part were present, when the Bill passed that House: And for the House of Commons many Gentlemen, disposed enough to diminish my Lord of *Straffords* greatnesse and power, yet unsatisfied of his guilt in Law, durst not condemn him to die: who for their integritie in their Votes, were by posting their names, exposed to the popular calumny, hatred and furie; which grew then so exorbitant in their clamours *for Justice*, that is, to have both my self and the two Houses Vote, and do as they would have us, that many, 'tis thought, were rather terrified to concur with the condemning partie, then satisfied that of right they ought so do.

And that after-Act vacating the Authoring of the precedent, for future imitation, sufficiently tels the world, that some remorse touched even his most implacable enemies, as knowing he had very hard measure, and such as they would be very loth should be repeated to themselves.

This tendernesse and regret I find in my soul, for having had any hand (and that very unwillingly God knows) in shedding one mans bloud unjustly, though under the colour and formalities of Justice and pretences of avoiding publick mischief: which may I hope, be some evidence before God and Man, to all Posteritie, that I am far from beating justly

the vast load and guilt of all that bloud which hath bin shed in this unhappy War; which some men will needs charge on me, to ease their own souls, who am, and ever shall be more afraid to take away any mans life unjustly, than to lose my own.

BUt thou, O God, of thy infinite mercies forgive me that act of sinfull compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon me then any man, Since I had not the least temptation of envy, or malice against him, and by my place should, at least so far, have been a preserver of him, as to have denied my consent to his destruction.

O Lord, I acknowledge my transgression, and my sin is ever before me.

Deliver me from bloud-guiltinesse, O God, [illegible] God of my salvation, and my tongue [illegible] sing of thy righteousnesse

Against thee have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight: for thou saweſt the contradiction between my heart and hand.

Yet cast me not away from thy presence, purge me with the bloud of my Redeemer, and I shall be clean, wash me with that pretious Effusion, and I shall be whiter then snow.

Teach me to learn Righteousnesse by thy Judgements, and to see my frailtie in thy Justice: while I was perswaded by shedding one mans bloud to prevent after troubles, thou hast for that, among other sinnes, brought upon me, and upon my Kingdoms, great, long, and heavie troubles

Make me to prefer Justice which is thy will, before all contrary clamours, which are but the discoveries of mans injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome, me to please them by displeasing thee: O never suffer me for any reason of State, to go against thee, the God of Reason, and Judge of our Consciences. What-

Whatevtr, O Lord, thou ſeeſt fit to deprive me of, yet reſtore unto me the joy of thy Salvation, and ever uphold me with thy free Spirit which Subjects my will to none ; but thy light of Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion, which ſhines in my Soul : for thou deſireſt Truth in the inward parts, and integritie in the outward expreſſions.

Lord hear the voice of thy Sons, and my Saviours bloud, which ſpeaks better things ; O make me and my People, to hear the voice of Joy and Gladneſſe, that the bones which thou haſt broken, may rejoyce in thy Salvation.

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3 *Upon His Majeſties going to the Houſe of Commons.*

MY going to the houſe of Commons to demand Juſtice upon the five Members, was an act, which mine enemies loded with all the obliquies and exaſperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great jealouſies and fears, yea, and many of my friends reſented it as a motion riſing rather from paſſion then reaſon, and not guided with ſuch diſcretion, as the touchineſſe of thoſe times required.

But theſe men knew not the juſt motives, and pregnant grounds, with which I thought my ſelf ſo furniſhed, that there needed nothing to ſuch evidence as I could have produced againſt thoſe I charged, ſave only a free and legal Triall which was all I inſiſted.

Nor had I any temptation of diſpleaſure, or revenge againſt thoſe mens perſons, further then I had diſcovered thoſe, as I thought, unlawfull correſpondencies they had uſed, and engagements they had made to ſubvert my Kingdoms : of all which I miſſed but little to have produced writings under ſome mens own hands, who were the chief contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it ſo; yet I wanted not ſuch probabilities as were ſufficient to raiſe jealouſies in any Kings heart, who is not wholly ſtupid and neglective of the publick peace, which to preſerve by calling in Queſtion half a dozen men in a fair and legall way (which God knows was all my deſign) could have amounted to no worſe effect, had it ſucceeded, then either to do me, and my Kingdoms right in caſe they had been found guiltie; or elſe to have cleared their Innocencie; and removed my ſuſpition; which as they were not raiſed out of any malice, ſo neither were they in Reaſon to be ſmothered.

What flames of diſcontent this ſpark (though I ſought by all ſpeedy and poſsible means to quench it) ſoon kindled, all the world is witneſſe: The aſperſion which ſome men caſt upon that action, as if I had deſigned by force to aſſault the Houſe of Commons, and invade their priviledge is ſo falſe, that as God beſt knows I had no ſuch intent: ſo none that attended me could juſtly gather from any thing I then ſaid, or did, the leaſt intimation of any ſuch thoughts.

That I went attended with ſome Gentlemen as it was no unwonted thing for the Majeſtie and ſafetie of a King ſo to be attended, eſpecially in diſcontented times, ſo were my followers at that time ſhort of my ordinarie Guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuarie conflict. Nor were they more ſcared at my coming, then I was un aſſured of not having ſome affronts caſt upon me, if I had none with me to preſerve a reverence to me; For many people had (at that time) learned to think thoſe hard thoughts, which they have ſince abundantly vented againſt me, both by words and deeds.

The ſum of that buſineſſe was this.

Thoſe men, and their adherents were then looked

looked upon by the affrighted Vulgar, as greater Protectours of their Laws and Liberties, then my self, and so worthier of their protection. I leave them to God, and their own Consciences, who, if guiltie of evil machinations, no present impunitie, or popular vindications of them wil be subterfuge sufficient to rescue them from those exact Tribunals.

To which, in the obstructions of Justice among men, we must religiously appeal, as being an argument to us Christians of that after unavoidable Judgement, which shall rejudge, what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had seen fit, those future commotions which I foresaw, would in all likelyhood follow some mens activitie (if not restrained) and so now hath done to the undoing of many thousands; the more is the pitie.

But to over-aw the Freedom of the Houses, or to weaken their just Authoritie by any violent impressions upon them, was not at all my design: I thought I had so much Justice and Reason on my side, as should not have needed so rough assistance: and I was resolved rather to bear the repulse with patience, then to use such hazardous extremities.

BUt thou O Lord, art my witnesse in heaven and in my heart: If I have purposed any violence or oppression against the Innocent; or if there were any such wickednesse in my thoughts.

Then let the enemy persecute my soul, and tread my life to the ground, and lay mine Honour in the dust.

Thou that seest not as man seeth, but looketh beyond all popular appearances, searching the heart, and trying the reins, & bringing to light the hidden things of darknesse, shew thy self.

Let not my afflictions be esteemed (as with wise and godly men they cannot be) any argument of my sin, in that matter; more than their Impunity among good men is any sure token of their Innocency.

But forgive them wherein they have done amisse, though they are not punished for it in this world.

Save thy servant from the privy conspiracies, and open violence of bloudy and unreasonable men, according to the uprightnesse of my heart and the innocencie, of my hands in this matter

Plead my cause and maintain my right, O thou that sittest in the Throne, judging rightly, that thy servant may ever rejoyce in thy Salvation.

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4 *Upon the Insolencie of the Tumults.*

I Never thought any thing (except our sins) more ominously presaging all the mischiefs, which have followed, then those Tumults in *London* and *Westminster*, soon after the Convening of this Parliament, which were not like a storm at sea, (which yet wants not its terrour) but like an Earthquake shaking the very foundations of all; then which, nothing in the world hath more of horrour.

As it is one of the most convincing Arguments that there is a God while his power sets bounds to the raging of the Sea, so it is no lesse that he restrains the madnesse of the People Nor doth any thing portend more Gods displeasure against a Nation, then when he suffers the confluence and clamours of the Vulgar, to passe all boundaries of Laws, and reverence to Authority.

Which those Tumults did to so high degrees of insolence, that they spared not to invade the Honour, and Freedom of the two Houses, menacing, reprocching, shaking, yea, and assaulting

ing some Members of both Houses, as they fancied, or disliked them: Nor did they forbear most rude and unseemly deportments both in contemptuous words and actions, to my Self and my Court.

Nor was this a short fit or two of shaking, as an ague; but a quotidian feavour, alwayes encreasing to higher inflamations, impatient of any mitigation, restraint, or remission.

First, they must be a guard against those fears, which some men feared themselves and others withall; when indeed nothing was more to be feared and lesse to be used by wise men, then those tumultuary confluxes of mean and rude people, who are taught first to Petition, then to Protect, then to Dictate, at last to Command and Over-aw the Parliament.

All Obstructions in Parliament (that is, all Freedom of differing in Votes, and debating matters with reason & candour) must be taken away with these Tumults: By these must the Houses be purged, and all rotten Members (as they please to count them) cast out: By these the obstinacy of men resolving to discharge their Conscience must be subdued; by these all factious, seditious, and schismaticall propos's against Government Ecclesiasticall or Civil, must be backed & abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, whoever had most mind to bring forth Confusion and Ruine upon Church and State, used the midwifery of those Tumults, whose riot and impatience was such, that they would not stay the ripening and season of Counsels, or fair production of Acts, in the order, gravity, and deliberateneſse befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, such as their Inviters and Incouragers most fancied.

Yea, so enormous and detestable were their outrages, that no sober man could be without an infinite shame and sorrow to see them so

to

tolerated and connived at by ſome, countenanced, incouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he moſt deſired, for the Publick good, than obtain it by ſuch unlawfull and irreligious means? But mens paſsions, and Gods directions ſeldom agree; violent deſigns and motions muſt have ſutable engines, ſuch as too much attend their own ends, ſeldom confine themſelves to Gods means. Force muſt crowd in what Reaſon will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrones of Tumults, to ſend for them, to flatter and embolden them to direct and tune their clamorous importunities, ſome men yet living are too conſcious to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will let theſe ſee, that thoſe were no fit means to be uſed for attaining his ends.

But, as it is no ſtrange thing for the Sea to rage, when ſtrong winds blow upon it; ſo, neither for Multitudes to become inſolent, when they have men of ſome reputation for parts and piety to ſet them on.

That which made their rudeneſſe moſt formidable, was, that many complaints being made, and Meſſages ſent by my ſelf, and ſome of both Houſes; yet no order for redreſſe could be obtained with any vigour and efficacy, proportionable to the Malignity of that now farſpread diſeaſe and predominant miſchief.

Such was ſome mens ſtupidity that they feared no inconvenience; Others petulancy, that they joyed to ſee their betters ſhamefully outraged and abuſed, while they knew their onely ſecuritie conſiſted in vulgar flatterie; So inſenſibly were they of mine, or the two Houſes common ſafety and Honours.

Nor could ever any order be obtained, impartially to examin, cenſure, & puniſh the known Seditious & impudent incendiaries, who boaſted

ed of the influence they had, and used to convoke those Tumults as their advantages served.

Yea, some (who should have been wiser Statesmen) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeal, and Industrie, which to sober men could seem no better then that of the Devil, who *goes about seeking whom he may deceive, and devour.*

I confesse, when I found such a deafnesse, that no Declaration from the Bishops, who were first foully insolenced & assaulted; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honour, nor yet from my self, could take place for the due suppression of these Tumults; and securing not onely our Freedom in Parliament, but our very Persons in the streets; I thought my self not bound, by my presence, to provoke them to higher boldnesse and contempts. I hoped by my with-drawing to give time, both for the ebbing of their tumultuous furie, and others regaining some degrees of modesty and sober sense.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Pusillanimitie in any man, for popular terrours to desert his publick station. But I think it a hardinesse beyond true valour; for a wise man to set himself against the breaking in of a Sea; which to resist at present, threatens imminent danger; but to withdraw, gives it space to spend its furie, and gains a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly a Gallant man had rather fight to great disadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderly way, then skuffle with an undisciplined rabble.

Some suspected and affirmed that I meditated a War, (when I went from *White-hall*, onely to redeem my Person and Conscience from violence) God knows, I did not then think of War. Nor will any prudent man conceive that I would by so many former, and some after Acts, have so much weakned my self, if I had purposed

purposed to engage in a War, which to decline by all means, I denyed my self in so many particulars; Tis evident I had then no Army to flie unto, for protection, or vindication.

Who can blame me, or any other, for a withdrawing Our selves from the dayly baitings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their fury and discontent might not flie so hgih as to worrie and tear those in pieces, whom as yet, they but played with in their paws? God, who is my sole Judge, is my witnesse in Heaven that I never had any thoughts of going from my Houses at *White hall*, if I could have had but any reasonable fair Quarter: I was resolved to bear much, and did so; but I did not think my self bound to prostitute the Majestie of my Place and Person, the safety of my Wife and Children, to those who are prone to insult most, when they have objects and opportunity most capable of their rudenesse and petulancy.

But this businesse of the Tumults (whereof some have already given an account to God, others yet living know themselves desperately guiltie,) Time and the guilt of many hath so smothered up and buried, that I think it best to leave it, as it is; Onely, I believe the just Avenger of all disorders, will in time make those men, and that Citie, see their sin in the glasse of their punishment. Tis more then an even lay that they may one day see themselves punished by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its First Election and Constitution, sat full and free, the Members of both Houses being left to their freedom of Voting as in all Reason, Honour, and Religion, they should have been; I doubt not but things would have been so carried, as would have given no lesse content to all good men, then they wished or expected.

For, I was resolved to hear reason in all things and to consent to it so far as I could comprehend

ptehend it; but as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plantations, so are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian concourses to publick Counsels, turning all into disorders and sordid confusions.

I am prone sometimes to think, That had I called this Parliament to any other place in *England*, (as I might opportunely enough have done) the sad consequences in all likelyhood with Gods blessing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcome in any place, no place afforded such confluence of various and vitious humours, as that where it was unhappily convened. But we must leave all to God, who orders our disorders, and magnifies his wisdom most, when our follies and miseries are most discovered.

BUt thou, O Lord, art my refuge and defence, to thee, I may safely flie, who rulest the raging of the Sea, and the madnesse of the People.

The flouds, O Lord, the floods are come in upon me, and are ready to overwhelm me.

I look upon my sins, and the sins of my People (which are the tumults of our souls against thee, O Lord,) as the just cause of these popular inundations which thou permittest to overbear all the banks of Loyalty, Modestie, Laws, Justice and Religion.

But thou that gatheredst the waters into one place, and madest the dry land to appear, & after didst asswage the flouds which drown'd the world, by the word of thy power, rebuke those beasts of the People, & deliver me from the rudenesse and strivings of the multitude.

Restore, we beseech thee, into us, the freedoms of our Counsels and Parliaments; make us unpassionately to see the light of Reason, and Religion; and with all order and gravitie to follow it, as it becomes Men and Christians;

so

ſo ſhall we praiſe thy Name, who art the God of Order and Counſel.

What man cannot, or will not repreſſe, thy omnipotent Juſtice can and will.

O Lord, give them that are yet living, a timely ſenſe and ſorrow for their great ſinne, whom thou knoweſt guiltie of raiſing or not ſuppreſsing thoſe diſorders: Let ſhame here, and not ſuffering hereafter be their puniſhment.

Set bounds to our paſsion by Reaſon; to our errours by Truth, to our ſeditions by Laws duly executed, and to our ſchiſmes by Charitie, that we may be, as thy Jeruſalem, a Citie at unitie in it ſelf.

This grant, O my God, in thy good time for Jeſus Chriſts ſake, *Amen.*

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5. *Upon His Majeſties paſſing the Bill for the Triennial Parliaments: and after ſettling this, during the pleaſure of the two Houſes*

THat the world might be fully confirmed, in my purpoſes at firſt; to contribute what in Juſtice, Reaſon, Honour, and Conſcience I could, to the Happy ſucceſſe of this Parliament, (which had in me no other deſign but the Generall good of my Kingdoms) I willingly paſſed the Bill for Trienniall Parliaments: which, as gentle and ſeaſonable Phyſick might (if well applied) prevent any diſtempers from getting any head, or prevailing; eſpecially, if the remedy proved not a diſeaſe beyond all remedy.

I conceived this Parliament would find work with convenient receſſes for the firſt three years; but I did not imagine that ſome men would thereby have occaſioned more work then they found to do, by undoing ſo much

much as they found well done to their hands. Such is some mens activitie, that they will needs make work rather then want it; and chuse to be doing amisse rather then do nothing.

When that first Act seemed too scantie to satisfie some mens fears, and to compasse publick affairs; I was perswaded to grant that Bill of sitting during the pleasure of the Houses, which amounted in some mens sense, to as much as the perpetuating this Parliament. By this Act of highest confidence, I hoped for ever to shut out, and lock the door upon all present jealousies, and future mistakes: I confesse I did not thereby intend to shut my self out of doors, as some men have now requited me.

True, It was an Act unparalelled by any of my Predecessours: yet cannot in reason admit of any worse interpretation then this, of an extream confidence I had, that my Subjects would not make an ill use of an Act, by which I declared so much to them, as to deny my self in so high a point of my Prerogative.

For good Subjects will never think it just or fit, that my condition should be worse by my bettering theirs: Nor indeed would it have been so in the events, if some men had known as well with moderation to use, as with earnestnesse to desire advantages of doing good or evil.

A continuall Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weal in tune, by preserving Laws in their due execution and vigour, wherein my Interest lies more then any mans, since by those Laws, my Rights as a King, would be preserved no lesse then my Subjects; which is all I desired. More then the Law gives me I would not have, and lesse the meanest Subject should not.

Some (as I have heard) gave it out, that I soon

soon repented me of that sterling Act: and many would needs perswade me, I had cause so to do; but I could not easily nor suddenly suspect such ingratitude in Men of Honour; That the more I granted them, the lesse I should have and enjoy with them. I still counted my self, undiminished by my largest Concessions, if by them I might gain and confirm the love of my People.

Of which I do not yet despair, but that God will still blesse me with increase of it; when men shal have more leisure, & lesse prejudice; that so with unpassionate representatons, they may reflect upon those, (as I think) not more Princely then friendly contributions, which I granted towards the perpetuating of their happinesse, who are now onely miserable in this. That some mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in Gods due time, the Loyal and cleared affections of my People, will strive to return such retributions of Honour, and love to me, or my Posteritie, as may fully compensate both the Acts of my confidence and my sufferings for them, which (God knows) have been neither few, nor small, nor short, occasioned chiefly by a perfwasion I had, that I could not grant too much, or distrust too little to men, that being professedly my Subjects, pretended singular pietie and religious strictnesse.

The Injury of all injuries is, That which some men will needs load me withall; as if I were a wilfull and resolved Occasioner of my own and my Subjects miseries: while (as they confidently, but (God knows) falsly devulge) I repining at the establishment of this Parliament, endeavoured by force and open hostilitie, to undo what by my Royal assent I had done. Sure it had argued a very short sight of

things,

things, and extream fatuitie of mind in me, for to bind my own hands at their request, if I had shortly meant to have used a sword against them. God knows though I had then a sense of Injuries, yet not such, as to think them worth vindicating by a War: I was not then compelled, as since, to injure my self by their not using favors, with the same candour wherewith they were conferred. The Tumults indeed threatned to abuse all acts of Grace, and turn them into wantonnesse; but I thought at length their own fears, whose black arts first raised up those turbulent Spirits, would force them to conjure them down again.

Nor if I had justly resented any indignities put upon me, or others, was I then in any capacitie to have taken just revenge in an Hostile and Warlike way upon those, whom I knew so well fortified in the love of the meaner sort of the people, that I could not have given my enemies greater and more desired advantages against me, then by so unprincely inconstancy, to have assaulted them with Arms, thereby to scatter them whom but lately I had solemnly setled by an Act of Parliament.

God knows I longed for nothing more then that my self, and my Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of my many condescendings.

It had been a course full of Sinne, as well as of Hazard, and dishonour for me to go about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which I had so lately planted, so much (as I thought) to my Subjects content, and mine own too in all probabilitie: if some men had not feared where no fear was, whose securitie consisted in scaring others.

I thank God I know so well the sincerity and uprightnesse of my own heart in passing

that

passing that great Bill, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times, That although I may seem a lesse Politician to men, yet I need no secret destinctions or evasions before God. Nor had I any reservations in my own Soul, when I passed it; nor repentings after, till I saw that my letting some men go up to the Pinacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to cast me down head-long;

Concluding, that without a miracle, Monarchy it self, together with me, could not but be dashed in pieces, by such a precipitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercy forgive, and make them see at length, That as many Kingdoms as the Devil shewed our Saviour, and the glorie of them, (if they could be at once enjoyed by them) are not worth the gaining, by wayes of sinfull ingratitude and dishonour, which hazards a Soul worth more Worlds then this hath Kingdoms.

But God hath hitherto preserved me, and made me to see, That it is no strange thing for men, left to their own passions, either to do much evil themselves, or abuse the overmuch goodnesse of others, whereof an ungratefull Surfet is the most desperate and incurable disease.

I cannot say properly that I repent of that Act, since I have no reflections upon it as a sin of my will, though an errour of too charitable a judgement: Onely I am sorry other mens eyes should be evil, because mine were good.

TO thee, O my God, do I still appeal, whose All-discerning Justice sees through all the disguises of mens pretensions, and deceitfull darknesse of their hearts.

Thou gavest me a heart to grant much to my Subjects; and now I need a Heart fitting to suffer much from some of them.

Thy will be done, though never so much to the

the crosing of ours, even when we hope to do what might be most conformable to thine and theirs too; who pretended they aimed at nothing else.

Let thy grace teach me wisely to enjoy as well the frustrating, as the fulfillings of my best hopes, and most specious desires.

I see while I thought to allay others fears, I have raised mine own; and by setling them, have unsetled my self.

Thus have they requited me evil for good, and hatred for my good towards them.

O Lord be thou my Pilot in this dark and dangerous storm, which neither admits my return to the Port whence I set out, nor my making any other, with that safety and Honour which I designed.

'Tis easie for thee to keep me safe in the love and confidence of my people; nor is it hard for thee to preserve me amidst the unjust hatred and jealousies of too many, which thou hast suffered so far to prevail upon me, as to be able to pervert and abuse my acts of greatest indulgence to them, and assurance of them

But no favours from me can make others more guiltie then my self may be, if misusing those many and great ones, which thou, O Lord, hast conferred on me.

I beseech thee give me and them such repentance, as thou wilt accept, and such grace as we may not abuse.

Make me so far happy, as to make a right use of others abuses and by their failings of me, to reflect, with a reforming displeasure, upon my offences against thee.

So although for my sins I am by other mens sins deprived of thy temporall blessings, yet I may be happy to enjoy the comfort of thy mercies, which often raise the greatest sufferers to be the most glorious Saints.

Upon

6. *Upon his Majesties retirement from Westminster.*

WIth what willingneſſe I withdrew from *Weſtminſter*, let them judge, who unprovided of tackling and victuall are forced to Sea by a ſtorm; yet better do ſo, then venture ſpliting or ſinking on a Lee ſhore.

I ſtayed at *White-hall*, till I was driven away by ſhamemore then fear, to ſee the barbarous rudeneſſe of thoſe Tumults, who reſolved they would take the boldneſſe to demand any thing, and not leave either my ſelf, or the Members of Parliament, the Liberty of our Reaſon & Conſcience to deny them any thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppreſſion my caſe alone, (though chiefly mine) for the Lords and Commons might be content to be overvoted by the *major* part of their Houſes, when they had uſed each their own Freedom.

Whoſe agreeing Votes were not by any Law or reaſon concluſive to my Judgement; nor can they include, or carry with them my conſent, whom they repreſent not in any kind; Nor am I further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houſes, then I ſee them agree with the will of God, with my juſt Rights, as a King, and the generall good of my People. I ſee that as many men they are ſeldom of one mind; and I may oft ſee, that the *major* part of them are not in the right

I had formerly declared to ſober and moderate minds, how deſirous I was to give all juſt content, when I agreed to ſo many Bills, which had been enough to ſecure and ſatisfie all; if ſome mens Hydropick inſatiableneſſe had not learned to thirſt the more by how much more they drank; whom no fountain of Royall bounty was able to overcome; ſo reſolved they ſeemed, either utterly to exhauſt it, or barbarouſly to obſtruct it.

Sure

Sure it ceases to be Counsel, when not Reason is used, as to men to perswade; but force and terrour as to beasts, to drive and compel men to assent to what ever tumultuary Patrones shall project. He deserves to be a slave without pitie, or redemption, that is contens to have the rational Soverainqtie of his soul, & libertie of his will, & words so captivated.

Nor do I think my Kingdoms so considerable as to preserve them with the forfeiture of that Freedom, which cannot be denied me as a King, because it belongs to me as a man, and a Christian; owning the dictates of none, but God, to be above me, as obliging me to consent. Better for me to die enjoying this Empire of my Soul, which subjects onely to God, so far as by Reason or Religion he directs me, than live with the Title of a King, if it should carrie such a vassalage with it, as not to suffer me to use my Reason and Conscience, in what I declare as a King, to like or dislike.

So far am I from thinking the Majestie of the Crown of *England* to be bound by any Coronation Oath: in a blind and brutish formalitie, to consent to whatever its Subjects in Parliament shall require, as some men will needs inferre; while denying me any power of a Negative Voice as a King, they are not ashamed to seek to deprive me of the liberty of using my Reason with a good Conscience, which themselves, and all the Commons of *England* enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publick; who would take it very ill to be urged, not to deny, whatever my self, as King, or the House of Peers with me should, not so much desire as enjoyn them to passe. I think my Oath fully discharged in that point by my Governing onely by such Laws, as my People with the house of Peers have chosen, and my self have consented to. I shall never think my self conscientiously tied to go about

against my Conſcience, as I ſhould conſent to ſuch new Propoſalls, which my Reaſon, in Juſtice, Honour, and Religion bids me denie.

Yet ſo tender I ſee ſome men are of their being Subject to Arbitrarie Government, (that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themſelves give no conſent) that they care not with how much diſhonour & abſurditie they make their King the onely man, that muſt be ſubject to the will of others, without having power left him, to uſe his own Reaſon, either in Perſon, or by any Repreſentation.

And if my diſſentings at any time were (as ſome have ſuſpected, and uncharitably avowed out of errour, opinion, activeneſſe, weakneſſe or wilfulneſſe, and what they call Obſtinacy in me (which not true Judgement of things, but ſome vehement prejudice or paſsion hath fixed on my mind;) yet can no man think it other than the Badge and Method of Slavery, by ſavage rudeneſſe, and importunate obtruſions of violence, to have the miſt of his Errour and Paſsion diſpelled; which is a ſhadow of Reaſon, and muſt ſerve thoſe that are deſtitute of the ſubſtance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or Man, who ſeriouſly endeavours to ſee the beſt reaſon of things, and Faithfully follows what he takes for Reaſon: The uprightneſſe of his intentions will excuſe the poſsible failings of his underſtanding; If a Pilot at Sea cannot ſee the Pole ſtar, it can be no fault in him to ſteer his courſe by ſuch ſtars as do beſt appear to him. It argues rather thoſe men to be conſcious of their defects of Reaſon, and convincing Arguments, who call in aſsiſtance of meer force to carrie on the weakneſſe of their Counſels, and Propoſals. I may, in the truth and uprightneſſe of my heart, proteſt before God and Men; that I never wilfully oppoſed, or denied anything, that was in a fair way, after full and

and free debates propounded to me, by the two Houses, further than I thought in good reason I might, and was bound to do.

Nor did any thing ever please me more, then when my judgement so concurred with theirs, that I might with good Conscience consent to them: yea in many things where not absolute and morall necessitie of Reason, but temporarie convenience on point of Honour was to be considered, I chose rather to denie my self then them; as preferring that which they thought necessarie for my Peoples good, before what I saw but convenient for my self

For I can be contented to recede much from my own Interests and personall Rights, of which I conceive my self to be Master; but in what concerns Truth, Justice, the Rights of the Church, and my Crown, together with the general good of my Kingdoms: (all which I am bound to preserve as much as morally lies in me.) here I am, and ever shall be fixt and resolute; nor shall any man gain my consent to that wherein my heart gives my tongue or hand the Lie, nor will I be brought to affirm that to men, which in my Conscience I denied before God. I will rather chuse to wear a Crown of Thorns with my Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to me) for one of lead, whose embased flexibleness shall be forced to bend and comply to the various, and oft contrarie dictates of any Factions, when in stead of Reason, and Publick concernments; they obtrude nothing but what makes for the interests of parties, and flows from the partialities of private wils and passions.

I know no resolutions more worthy a Christian King, then to preferre his Conscience before his Kingdom.

O My God, preserve thy servant in this Native, Rationall and Religious freedom; For this I believe is thy will, that we should maintain: who though thou dost justly require us, to submit our understandings and wills to thine; whose wisdom and goodnesse can neither erre, nor misguid us, and so far to denie our carnal reason, in order to thy sacred Mysteries, and Commands, that we should believe and obey rather then dispute them; yet dost thou expect from us, onely such a reasonable service of thee, as not to do any-thing for thee against our consciences: and as to do the desire of men, enjoyneſt us to trie things by the touch-stone of Reason and Laws, which are the Rules of Civil Justice, and to declare our consents to that onely which our Judgements approve.

Thou knoweſt, O Lord, how unwilling I was to desert that place, in which thou hast set me, and whereto the affairs of my Kingdoms at present did call me.

My People can witnesse how farre I have been content for their good, to deny my self, in what thou hast subjected to my disposals.

O let not the unthankfull importunities, and tumultarie violence of some mens immoderate demands, ever betray me to that degenerous and unmanlie slaverie, which should make me strengthen them by my consent in those things which I think in my Conscience to be against thy glory, the good of my Subjects, and the discharge of mine own Dutie in Reason and Justice.

Make me willingly to suffer the greatest indignities, and injuries they presse upon me, rather then commit the least sin against my Conscience

Let the just Liberties of my People be (as well they may) preserved in fair and equal

wayes,

wayes, without the ſlaverie of my ſoul.

Thou that haſt inveſted me by thy favour, in the power of a Chriſtian King, ſuffer me not to ſubject my Reaſon to other mens paſſions, and deſignes, which to me ſeem unreaſonable, unjuſt, and irreligious: So ſhall I ſerve thee in the uprightneſſe of my heart, though I cannot ſatisfie theſe men.

Though I be driven from among them, yet give me grace to walk alwayes uprightly before thee.

Lead me in the way of Truth and Juſtice; for theſe I know, will bring me at laſt to peace and happineſſe with thee: though for theſe I have much trouble among men

This I beg of thee for my Saviours ſake.

7 *Upon the Queens Departure, and abſence out of* England.

ALthough I have much cauſe to be troubled at my Wives Departure from me, and out of my Dominions: yet not her abſence ſo much, as the ſcandal of that neceſſitie, which drives her away doth afflict me. That ſhe ſhould be compelled by mine owne Subjects, and thoſe pretending to be Proteſtants, to withdraw for her ſafetie: This being the firſt example of any Proteſtant Subjects that have taken up Arms againſt their King a Proteſtant: For I look upon this done in *England*, as another Act of the ſame Tragidie which was lately begun in *Scotland*: the brands of that fire being ill quenched, have kindled the like flames here. I fear ſuch motions (ſo little to the adorning of the Proteſtant Profeſſion) may occaſion a further alienation of mind and divorce of affections in her, from that Religion, which is the onely thing wherin we differ.

Which yet God can, and I pray he would in time take away: and not suffer these practices, to be any obstruction to her judgement: since it is the motion of those men, (for the most part) who are yet to seek and settle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good manners, and so not to be imputed to the true *English* Protestants: who continue firm to their former setled Principles and Laws.

I am sorry my Relation to so deserving a Ladie should be any occasion of her danger and affliction: whose merits would have served her for a protection among the savage *Indians*: while their rudenesse and barbaritie knows not so perfectly to hate all virtues, as some mens subtiltie doth: among whom I yet think few are so malicious as to hate her for her self. The fault is, that she is my Wife.

All justice then as well as affection commands me to study her Securitie, who is onely in danger for my sake: I am content to be tossed, weather-beaten, and ship-wrackt, so as she may be in safe Harbour.

This comfort I shall enjoy by her safetie in the midst of my Personal Dangers, that I can perish but half, if she be preserved: In whose memorie, and hopefull Posteritie, I may yet survive the malice of mine Enemies, although they should be satiated with my Bloud.

I must leave her, and them, to the Love and Loyaltie of my good Subjects, and to his protection who is able to punish the faults of Princes, and no lesse severely to revenge the injuries done to Them by those who in all Dutie and Allegiance, ought to have made good that safetie, which the Laws chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civilitie is in vain expected from those that dispute their Loyaltie: No

can it be safe (for any relation) to a King, to tarrie among them who are shaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faster hold on their Religion.

Tis pitie so noble and peacefull a Soul should see, much more suffer, the rudenesse of those who must make up their want of justice, with inhumanitie, and impudence.

Her sympathie with me in my afflictions, will make her virtues shine with greater lustre, as stars in the darkest nights; and assure the envious world, that she loves me, not my Fortunes.

Neither of Us, but can easily forgive, since we do not much blame the unkindnesse of the Generalitie and Vulgar, for we see God is pleased to trie both our patiences, by the most self-punishing sin, the Ingratitude of those, who have eaten of our bread, and being enriched with our bountie, have scornfully lift up themselves against Us; and those of our own Houshold are become our Enemies. I pray God lay not their sin to their charge: who think to satisfie all obligations to Dutie by their Corban of Religion: and can lesse endure to see, then to sin against the benefactors as well as their Sovereigns.

But even that policy of my enemies is so far veniall, as it was necessary to their designs, by scandalous Articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to seek to drive her out of my Kingdoms, lest by the influence of her example, eminent for Love as a Wife, and Loyaltie as a Subject, she should have converted to, or retained in their Love, and Loyaltie, all those whom they had a purpose so pervert.

The lesse I may be blest with her company, the more I will retire to God, and my own Heart, whence no malice can banish her, my enemies may envie, but they can never de-

Prive me of the enjoyment of her virtues, while I enjoy my self.

THou, O Lord, whose Justice at present sees fit to scatter us, let thy Mercy in thy due time reunite us on earth, if it be thy will, however bring us both at last, to thy heavenly Kingdom.

Preserve us from the hands of our despitefull and deadly enemies: and prepare us by our sufferings for thy presence.

Though we differ in some things, as to Religion (which is my greatest temporall infelicitie) yet Lord give, and accept the sincerities of our affections, which desire to seek, find, and to embrace every Truth of thine.

Let both our Hearts agree in the love of thy self, and Christ crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou wouldest have us to know in order to thy Glory, our publick relations, and our souls eternall good, and make us carefull to do what good we know.

Let neither ignorance of what is necessary to be known, nor unbelief, or disobedience to what we know, be our misery or our wilfull default.

Let not this great Scandall of those my Subjects which professe the same Religion with me, be any hinderance to her love of any Truth thou wouldest have her to learn, or any hardening of her in any errour thou would'st have cleared to her.

Let mine, and other mens constancy be an Antidote against the Poyson of their example.

Let the Truth of that Religion I professe, be represented to her judgement, with all the beauties of Humility, Loyaltie, Charitie, and Peaceablenesse; which are the proper fruits, and

and ornaments of it: Not in the odious disguises of Levity, Schisme, Heresie, Novelty, Cruelty, and Disloyalty, which some mens practises have lately put upon it.

Let her see thy sacred and saving Truths, as Thine, that she may believe, love, and obey them as Thine, cleared from all rust and drosse of humane mixtures.

That in the glasse of thy Truth she may see thee, in those mercies which thou hast offered to us, in thy Son Jesus Christ our onely Saviour, and serve thee in all those holy duties, which most agree with his holy doctrine and most imitable example.

The experience we have of vanitie, and uncertainty of all humane glory and greatnesse in our scatterings and eclipses, let it make us both so much the more ambitious to be invested in those durable honours and perfections, which are onely to be found in thy self, and obtained through Jesus Christ.

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8. *Upon His Majesties repulse at* Hull, *and the fates of the* Hothams.

MY repulse at *Hull*, seemed at the first view an act of so rude Disloyalty, that my greatest enemies had scarce confidence enough to abet, or own it: It was the first overt-Essay to be made how patiently I could bear the losse of my Kingdoms.

God knows, it afflicted me more, with shame and sorrow for others, then with anger for my self: nor did the affront done to me trouble me so much as their sin, which admitted no colour or excuse.

I was resolved how to bear this, and much more with patience; But I foresaw they could hardly contain themselves within the com-

passe of this one unworthy Act, who had effrontery enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was soon after to overspread the whole Kingdom, and cast all into disorder and darkenesse.

For tis among the wicked Maximes of bold and disloyall undertakers, That bad actions must alwaies be seconded with worse, and rather not be begun then not carried on, for they think the retreat more dangerous then the assault; and hate repentance more then perseverance in a fault.

This gave me to see clearly through all the pious disguises, and soft palliations of some mens whose words were sometime smoother then oyl, but now I saw they would prove very Swords.

Against which I having (as yet) no defence, but that of a good Conscience, thought it my best policie (with patience) to bear what I could not remedy: And in this (I thank God) I had the better of *Them*, that no disdain, or emotion of passion transported me, by the indignitie of his carriage, to do or say any thing, unbeseeming my self, or unsutable to that temper, which in greatest injuries, I think, best becomes a Christian, as coming neerest to the great example of Christ.

And indeed I desire alwayes more to remember I am a Christian, then a King; for what the Majesty of one might justly abhorre, the Charity of the other is willing to bear; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humilitie of a Christian teacheth to forgive. Keeping in compasse all those impotent passions, whose excesse injures a man more then his greatest enemies can; for these give their malice a full impression on our souls, which other waves cannot reach very far, nor do us much hurt.

I cannot but observe how God not long after so pleaded, and avenged my cause, in the eye of the world, that the most wilfully blind cannot avoid the displeasure to see it, and with some remorse and fear to own it as a notable stroke, and prediction of divine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham*, unreproched, unthreatned, uncursed, by any language or secret imprecation of mine, onely blasted with the Conscience of his own wickedness, and falling from one inconstancy to another, not long after payes his own and his eldest sonnes heads, as forfeitures of their disloyaltie, to those men from whom surely he might have expected anorher reward then thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whose hearts with them were divided from their King.

Nor is it strange that they who imployed them at first in so high a service, and so successefull to them, should not find mercy enough to forgive him, who had so much premerited of them: For, Apostacy unto Loyalty some men account the most unpardonable sin.

Nor did a solitary vengeance serve the turn, the cutting off one head in a Family is not enough to expiate the affront done to the head of the Common-wealth. The eldest Son must be involved in the punishment, as he was infected with the sin of the Father, against the Father of his Countrie; Root and branch God cuts off in one day.

These observations are obvious to every fancy; God knows, I was far from rejoycing in the *Hothams* ruin, (though it were such as was able to give the greatest thirst for revenge a full draught being executed by them who first employed him against me) that I so far pitied him, as I thought he at first acted more against the light of his Conscience,

then

then I hope many other men do in the same Cause

For, he was never thought to be of that superstitious sowernesse, which some men pretend to, in matters of Religion; which so darkens their judgement, that they cannot see any thing of Sin and Rebellion in those means they use, with intents to reform to their Models, what they call Religion, who think all is gold of piety, which doth but glister with a shew of Zeal and Fervency.

Sir *John Hotham* was (I think) a man of another temper, and so most liable to those down right temptations of ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of Religion, to impose upon themselves or others.

That which makes me more pitie him is, that after he began to have some inclinations towards a repentance for his sin, and reparation of his duty to me, He should be so unhappy as to fall into the hands of their Justice, and not my Mercy, who could as willingly have forgiven him, as he could have asked that favour of me.

For I think clemency a debt, which we ought to pay to those that crave it, when we have cause to believe they would not after abuse it, since God himself suffers us not to pay any thing for his mercy, but onely Prayers and praises.

Poor Gentleman, he is now become a notable monument of unprosperous disloyaltie, teaching the world by so sad and unfortunate a spectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Soveraign, carries alwaies its own vengeance, as an unseparable shadow with it, and those oft prove the most fatall, and implacable executioners of it, who were the first Imployers in the service.

After times will dispute it, whether *Hotham* were more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-Hill*; though

though tis certain, that no punishment so stains a mans Honour, as wilfull perpetrations of unworthy actions; which besides the Conscience of the sinne, brands, with most indelible Characters of infamy, the name and memory to Posterity, who not engaged in the Factions of the times, have the most impartiall reflections on the actions.

BUt thou, O Lord, who hast in so remarkable a way avenged thy servant, suffer me not to take any secret pleasure in it, for as his death hath satisfied the injury he did to me, so let me not by it gratifie any passion in me, lest I make thy vengeance to be mine, and consider the affront against me, more then the sin against thee.

Thou indeed, without any desire or endeavour of mine, hast made his mischief to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to come down on his own pate.

Thou hast pleaded my Cause, even before the sonnes of men, and taken the matter into thine own hands; that men may know it was thy work, and see, that thou Lord, hast done it

I do not. I dare not say, So let mine Enemies perish, O Lord; yea, Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impunity, if it be thy blessed will.

Let not thy Justice prevent the objects and opportunities of my Mercy, yea, let them live and amend who have most offended me in so high a nature; that I may have those to forgive, who bear most proportion in their offences to those trespasses against thy Majestie, which I hope, thy Mercie hath forgiven me.

Lord lay not their sinnes (who ever live) to their charge for their condemnation, but to their Consciences for amendment: Let the

the lightening of this thunder-bolt, which hath been so severe a punishment to one, be a terrour to all.

Discover to them their sinne, who know not they have done amisse, and scare them from their sinne, that sinne of malicious wickednesse.

That preventing thy judgements by their true repentance, they may escape the strokes of thine eternall vengeance.

And do thou, O Lord, establish the throne of thy servant in mercy and truth, meeting together; let my Crown ever flourish in righteousnesse and peace, kissing each other.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, who hast taught us to pray for, to do good to, and to love our enemies for thy sake; who hast prevented us with offertures of thy love, even when we were thine enemies, and hast sent thy Sonne Jesus Christ to die for us, when we were disposed to crucifie him.

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9. *Upon the listing, and raising Armies against the* KING.

I Find that I am at the same point and posture I was, when they forced me to leave *White-Hall*: what Tumults could not do, an Army must, which is but Tumults listed and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: My recesse hath given them confidence that I may be Conquered.

And so I easily may as to any outward strength, which God knows, is little or none at all: But I have a Soul invincible through Gods grace enabling me: here I am sure to be Conqueroor if God will give me such a measure of Constancie, as to fear him more then man: and to love the inward peace of my Conscience, before any outward tranquillitie.

And

And must I be opposed with Force, because they have not Reason wherewith to convince me? O my Soul! be of good courage; they confesse their known weaknesse, as to Truth, and Justice, who chuse rather to contend by Armies, then by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for those many Acts of Grace I have lately passed, and for those many Indignities I have endured? Is there no way left to make me a glorious King but by my sufferings?

It is a hard and disputable choice for a King that loves his People and desires their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miseries of Civil War in the bowels of my most flourishing Kingdom, the fruits I must now reap after seventeen years living and reigning among them, with such a measure of Justice, Peace, Plenty, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired, or envied? notwithstanding some miscarriages in Government, which might escape rather through ill counsell of some men, driving on their private ends, or the peevishnesse of others envying the Publick should be managed without them, or the hidden and insuperable necessities of State, then any propensitie, I hope, of my self either to injuriousnesse or oppression

Whose innocent bloud during my Reign have I shed to satisfie my lust, anger, or covetousnesse? What Widows or Orphanes tears can witnesse against me, the just cry of which must now be avenged with my own bloud? For the hazards of War are equall, nor doth the Canon know any respect of Persons.

In vain is my Person excepted by a Parenthesis of words, when so many hands are armed against me with Swords.

God knows how much I have studied to see what

what ground of Justice is alledged for this War against me; that so I might (by giving just satisfaction) either prevent, or soon end so unnaturall a motion; which (to many men) seems rather the productions of a surfeit of Peace, and wantonnesse of Minds, or of private Discontents, Ambition, and Faction, (which easily find, or make causes of quarrell) then any real obstructions of publick Justice, or Parliamentary Priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this I must be able to avoid and answer before God in my own conscience, however some men are not willing to believe me, lest they should condemn them.

When I first withdrew from *White-hall*, to see if I could allay the insolency of the Tumults, the not suppressing of which, no account in Reason can be given, (where an orderly Guard was granted, but onely to oppresse both mine and the two Houses Freedom of Declaring & Voting according to every mans Conscience) what obstructions of Justice were there further then this, that what seemed just to one man, might not seem so to another?

Whom did I by power protect against the Justice of Parliament?

That some men withdrew, who feared the partiality of their triall, (warned by my Lord of *Straffords* death) while the Vulgar threatned to be their Oppressours, & Judges of their Judges, was from that instinct, which is in all creatures to preserve themselves. If any others refused to appear, where they evidently saw the current of Justice and Freedom so stopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawfull Judges either durst not come to the Houses, or not declare their sence with liberty and safety, it cannot seem strange to any reasonable man when the sole exposing them to publick *odium* was enough to ruin them, before their Cause could be heard or tried.

Had

Had not factious Tumults overborn the Freedom and Honour of the two Houſes; had they aſſerted their Juſtice againſt them, and made the way open for all the members quietly to come and declare their Conſciences, I know no man ſo dear to me, whom I had the leaſt inclination to adviſe either to withdraw himſelf, or denie appearing upon their Summons; to whoſe Sentence according to Law (I think) every Subject is bound to ſtand.

Diſtempers (indeed) were riſen to ſo great a height, for want of timely repreſſing the vulgar inſolencies; that the greateſt guilt of thoſe which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not ſuffer themſelves to be over-awed with the Tumults and their Patrons, nor compelled to abet by their ſuffrages, or preſence, the deſigns of theſe men who agitated Innovations, and ruin, both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous conſtancy and cautiouſneſſe; further then this I did never allow any mans refractorineſſe againſt the priviledges and Orders of the Houſes; to whom I wiſhed nothing more, then Safety, Fulneſſe, and Freedom.

But the truth is, ſome men, and thoſe not many, deſpairing in fair and Parliamentary wayes, by free Deliberations and Votes, to gain the concurrence of the *major* part of Lords and Commons, betook themſelves (by the deſperate activitie of factious Tumults) to ſift and terifie away all thoſe Members whom they ſaw to be of contrary minds to their purpoſes.

How oft was the buſineſſe of the Biſhops enjoying their ancient Places, and undoubted Priviledges in the Houſe of Peers, carried for them by far the *major* part of Lords? Yet after five repulſes, contrary to all Order and Cuſtom, it was by tumultuary inſtigations obtruded

truded again, and by a few carried, when most of the Peers were forced to absent themselves.

In like manner, was the Bill against Root and Branch, brought on by tumultuary clamours, and schismaticall Terrours, which could never passe, till both Houses were sufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To which Partiality, while in all Reason Justice and Religion, my Conscience forbids me by consenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament; I must now be urged with an Army, and constrained either to hazard my own, and my Kingdoms ruin by my Defence; or prostrate my Conscience to the blind obedience of those men, whose zealous Superstition thinks, or pretends, they cannot do God and the Church a greater service, then utterly to destroy that Primitive, Apostolicall, and anciently Universall Government of the Church by Bishops.

Which if other mens judgements bind them to maintain, or forbids them to consent to the abolishing of it, mine much more: who, besides the grounds I have in my judgement, have also a most strict, and indispensible Oath upon my Conscience, to preserve that Order, and the Rights of the Church, to which, most Sacrilegious and abhorred Perjury, most unbeseeming a Christian King, should I ever by giving my consent be betrayed, I should account it infinitely greater misery, then any hath, or can befall me; in as much as the least sin hath more evil in it, then the greatest affliction. Had I gratified their Anti Episcopall Faction at first in this point, with my consent, and sacrificed the Ecclesiasticall Government, and Revenues, to the fury of their covetousnesse, ambition, and revenge, I believe they would then have found no colourable necessity of raising an Army to search in, and punish Delinquents.

That

That I consented to the Bill of putting the Bishops out of the House of Peers, was done with a firm perswasion of their contentednesse to suffer a present diminution in their Rights and Honour, for my sake, and the Commonweals, which I was confident they would readily yield unto, rather then occasion (by the least obstruction on their part) any dangers to me, or to my Kingdom. That I cannot adde my consent to the totall extirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath so much further tie upon my Conscience, as what I think Religious and Apostolicall: and so very sacred and Divine, as not to be dispensed with, or destroyed: when what is onely of civil Favour, and Priviledge of Honour granted to men of that Order, may with their consent, who are concerned in it, be annulled.

This is the true state of those obstructions pretended to be in point of Justice and Authority of Parliament: when I call God to witnesse, I knew none of such consequence as was worth speaking of to make a War, being onely such as Justice, Reason, and Religion had made in my own and other mens Consciences.

Afterwards indeed a great shew of Delinquents was made: which were but consequences necessarily following upon mine, or others withdrawing from, or defence against violence: but those could not be the first occasions of raising an Army against me. Wherein I was so far from preventing them, (as they have declared often, that they might seem to have the advantage and Justice of the defensive part, and load me with all the envy and injuries of first assaulting them) when as God knows, I had not so much as any hopes of an Army in my thoughts. Had the Tumults been Honourably and Effectually repressed by exemplary

Justice

Justice, and the Liberty of the Houses so vindicated, that all Members of either House might with Honour and Freedom, becoming such a Senate, have come and discharged their Consciences, I had obtained all that I designed by my withdrawing: and had much more willingly, and speedily returned then I retired: this being my necessity driving, the other my choice desiring.

But some men knew, I was like to bring the same judgement and constancy, which I carried with me, which would never fit their designs: and so while they invited me to come, and grievously complained of my absence, yet they could not but be pleased with it: especially when they had found out that plausible and popular pretext of raising an Armyto fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never punished the greatest and most intolerable Delinquency of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drave my self, and so many of both Houses from their places, by most barbarous indignities, which yet in all Reason and Honour, they were as loth to have deserted, as those others were willing they should, that so they might have occasion to persecute them with the Injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true state, and first drift and design in raising an Army against me, is by the sequell so evident, that all other pretences vanish. For when they declared by Propositions or Treaties, what they would have to appease them, there was nothing of consequence offered to me, or demanded of me, as any originall difference in any point of Law, or order of Justice. But, among other lesser Invocations this chiefly was urged? The Abolition of Episcopall, and the Establishment of Presbyterian Government

All other things at any time propounded were either impertinent as to any ground of a

a War, or easily granted by me, and onely to make up a number, or else they were merely consequentiall, or accessary, after the War was by them unjustly begun.

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, whom the noise and shew of piety, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might easily so fill with prejudice, that all equality and clearnesse of judgement might be obstructed. But this was, and is, as to my best observation, the true state of affairs between Us, when they first raised an Army, with this Design, either to stop my mouth, or to force my consent: and in this truth, as to my Conscience, (who was, God knows, as far from meditating a War, as I was in the eye of the World from having my preparation for one) I find that comfort, that in the midst of all the unfortunate successes of this War, on my side, I do not think mine innocencie any whit prejudiced or darkened; nor am I without that integrity, and peace before God, as with humble confidence to addresse my prayer to him.

FOr thou, O Lord, seest clearly through all the cloudings of humane affairs; Thou judgest without prejudice: Thine omniscience eternally guids thine unerrable judgement.

O my God, the proud are risen against me, and the assemblies of violent men have sought after my soul, and have not set thee before their eyes.

Consider mine Enemies, O Lord, for they are many, and they hate me with a deadly hatred without a cause.

For thou knowest I had no passion, design, or preparation to embroil my Kingdoms in a Civil War; whereto I had least temptation; as knowing I must adventure more then any, and could gain least of any by it.

Thou, O Lord, art my witnesse how oft I have deplored,

deplored, and ſtudyed to divert the neceſsity thereof, wherein I cannot well be thought ſo prodigally thirſtie of my Subjects bloud, as to venture mine own Life, which I have been oft compelled to do in this unhappy War; and which were better ſpent to ſave, then to deſtroy my People.

O Lord, I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou haſt ſuffered ſome men to bring upon me; but much more to bear the unjuſt reproches of thoſe, who not content that I ſuffer moſt by the War, will needs perſwade the World that I have raiſed firſt, or given juſt cauſe to raiſe it.

The confidence of ſome mens falſe tongues is ſuch, that they would make me almoſt ſuſpect mine own innocencie: yea, I could be content (at leaſt by my ſilence) to take upon me ſo great a guilt before men, if by that I might allay the malice of mine Enemies and redeem my People from this miſerable War, ſince thou, O Lord, knoweſt mine innocency in this thing.

Thou wilt find out bloudy and deceitfull men; many of whom have not lived out half their dayes, in which they promiſed themſelves the enjoyment of the fruit of their violent and wicked Counſels.

Save, O Lord, thy ſervant, as hitherto thou haſt, and in thy due time ſcatter the People that delight in War.

Ariſe, O Lord, lift up thy ſelf becauſe of the rage of mine Enemies, which encreaſeth more and more, Behold them that have conceived miſchief, travelled with iniquity, and brought forth falſhood.

Thou knoweſt the chief deſign of this War is, either to deſtroy my Perſon, or force my Judgement, and to make me renege my Conſcience and thy Truth.

I am driven to croſſe *Davids* choiſe, and deſire rather to fall into the bands of men by denying

denying them, (though their mercies be cruel) then into thine hands by sinning against my conscience, and in that against thee, who art a consuming fire: Better they destroy me then thou should'st damn me.

Be thou ever the Defence of my Soul, who wilt save the upright in heart.

If nothing but my Bloud will satisfie mine Enemies, or quench the flames of my Kingdoms, or thy temporal Justice, I am content, if it be thy will that it be shed by mine own Subjects hands.

But, O let the bloud of me, though their King, yet a sinner, be washed with the bloud of my innocent and peace-making Redeemer: for in that thy Justice will find not onely a temporarie expiation, but an eternal plenary satisfaction: both for my sins, and the sins of my People: whom I beseech thee still own for thine, and when thy wrath is appeased by my death, O remember thy great mercies toward them, and forgive them! O my Father, for they know not what they do.

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10 *Upon their seizing the* Kings *Magazins, Forts, Navy, and Militia.*

How untruly I am charged with the first raising of an Armie, and beginning this Civil War, the eyes that onely pitie me, and the Loyal hearts that durst onely pray for me, at first, might witnesse, which yet appear not so many on my side, as there were men in Arms listed against me: my unpreparednesse for a War may well dishearten those that would help me: while it argues (truly) my unwillingnesse to fight: yet it testifies for me that I am set on the defensive part: having so little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend my self, or to preserve what is mine own from their prereption.

No

No man can doubt but they prevented me in their purposes, as well as their injuries, who are so much before-hand in their preparations against me, and surprisals of my strength. Such as are not for them, yet dare not be for me: so over-awed is their Loyaltie by the others numbers and terrours. I believe my innocencie, and unpreparednesse to assert my Rights and Honour, makes me the more guiltie in their esteem, who would not so easily have declared a War against me, if I had first assaulted them.

They knew my chiefest Arms left me, were those onely, which the ancient Christians were wont to use against their Persecutors, Prayers, and Tears. These may serve a good mans turn, if not to Conquer as a Souldier, yet to suffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of me, and surprising my Castles, Forts, Arms, and Navie, with the *Militia*, is so far best for me, That it may drive me from putting any trust in the arm of flesh, and wholly to cast my self into the protection of the living God, who can save by few, or none, as well as by many.

He that made the greedy Ravens to be *Elias* Caterers, and bring him food, may also make their surprisall of outward force and defence, an opportunitie to shew me the special support of his power and protection.

I thank God, I reckon not now the want of the *Militia* so much in reference to my own protection as my Peoples.

Their many and sore oppressions grieve me; I am above my own: what I want in the hands of Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Prayer.

But this is the strange method these men will needs take to resolve their riddle of making me a glorious King, by taking away my Kingly power: Thus I shall become a

support

support to my Friends, and a terrour to my Enemies, by being unable to succour the one, or suppresse the other.

For thus have they designed, and proposed to me, the new modelling of Soveraignty and King-ship, so without any realitie of power, so without any necessitie of subjection and obedience: That the Majestie of the Kings of *England* might hereafter, hang like *Mahomets* Tomb, by a magnetique Charm, between the Power and Priviledges of the two Houses, in an aiery imagination of Regalitie.

But I believe the surfeit of too much Power, which some men have greedily seized on, and now seek wholly to devour, will, ere long, make the Common-wealth sick both of it and them, since they cannot well digest it; Soveraign Power in Subjects seldom agreeing with the stomacks of fellow Subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the constant *Militia* sought by satisfying their fears and importunities, both to secure my Friends; and overcome mine Enemies, to gain the peace of all, by depriving my self of a sole Power to help, or hurt any: yielding the *Militia* (which is my undoubted Right no lesse then the Crown) to be disposed of as the two Houses shall think fit, during my time.

So willing am I to burie all jealousies in them, of me; and to live above all jealousies of them, as to my self; I desire not to be safer then I wish them and my People; if I had the sole actuall disposing of the *Militia*, I could not protect my People, further then they protected me, and themselves; so that the use of the *Militia* is mutuall. I would but defend my self so farre, as to be able to defend my good Subjects from those men

violence and fraud, who conscious to their own evil merits and designs, will needs perswade the world, that none but Wolves are fit to be trusted with the custody of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miserable experience hath taught my Subjects, since Power hath been wrested from me, and imployed against me, and them, that neither can be safe, if both be not in such a way as the Law hath entrusted the publick safetie and welfare.

Yet even this Concession of mine, as to the exercise of the *Militia* so vast and large, is not satisfactory to some men, which seem to be Enemies not to me onely, but to all Monarchie; and are resolved to transmit to Posteritie such jealousies of the Crown, as they should never permit it to enjoy its just and necessary Rights, in point of Power; to which (at last) all Law is resolved, while thereby it is best protected.

But here Honour and Justice due to my Successours, forbid me to yield to such a total alienation of that power from them, which civility, and duty (no lesse then Justice and Honour) should have forbad them to have asked of me.

For although I can be content to eclipse mine own beams, to satisfie their fears; who think they must needs be scorched or blinded if I should shine in the full luster of Kingly Power, wherewith God and the Laws have invested me; yet I will never consent to put out the Sun of Soveraignty to all Posterity and succeeding Kings; whose just recovery of their Rights from unjust usurpations and extortions, shall never be, prejudiced or obstructed by any Act of mine; which indeed would not be more injurious to succeeding Kings, then to my Subjects: whom I desire to leave in a condition not wholly desperate for the future; so as by Law to be ever sub-

jects

jected to those many factious distractions, which must needs follow the many-headed *Hydra* of Government: which as it makes a shew to the People to have more eyes to foresee; so they will find it hath more mouths too, which must be satisfied: and (at best) it hath rather a monstrositie, then any thing of perfection beyond that right of Monarchy; where Counsel may be in many as the senses, but the Supreme Power can be but in one as the Head.

Happily when men have tried the horrours and Malignant influence which will certainly follow my enforced darknesse and eclipse, (occasioned by the interposition and shadow of that body, which as the Moon receiveth its chiefest light from me) they will at length more esteem and welcome the restored glory and blessing of the Suns light.

And if at present I may seem by my receding so much from the use of my Right in the Power of the *Militia*, to come short of the discharge of that trust to which I am sworn for my Peoples protection: I conceive those men are guiltie of the enforced perjury, (if so it may seem) who compel me to take this new and strange way of discharging my trust, by seeming to desert it; or protecting my Subjects by exposing my self to danger or dishonour, for their safetie and quiet.

Which in the conflicts of civil War and advantages of Power cannot be effected but by some side yielding; to which the greatest love of the publick Peace, and the firmest assurance of Gods protection (arising from a good Conscience) doth more invite me, then can be expected from other mens fears, which arising from the injustice of their actions (though never so successfull) yet dare not adventure their Authours upon any other way of safetie, then that of the Sword and

Militia; which yet are but weak Defences againſt the ſtrokes of divine vengeance, which will overtake; or of mens own Conſciences, which alwayes attend injurious perpetrations:

For my ſelf, I do not think that I can want any thing which providentiall neceſsitie is pleaſed to take from me in order to my Peoples tranquillitie, and Gods glory, whoſe protection is ſufficient for me; and he is able by his being with me, abundantly to compenſate to me, as he did to *Job*, whatever Honour, Power, or Liberty the *Caldeans*, the *Sabeans*, or the Devil himſelf can deprive me of.

Although they take from me all Defence of Arms and *Militia*, all Refuge by Land of Forts, and Caſtles; all flight by Sea in my Ships, and Navie: yea, though they ſtudy to rob me of the Hearts of my Subjects, the greateſt Treaſure and beſt Ammunition of a King, yet cannot they deprive me of mine own Innocencie, or Gods Mercie, nor obſtruct my way to Heaven.

THerefore, O my God, to thee I flie for help, if thou wilt be on my ſide, I ſhall have more with me then can be againſt me.

There is none in Heaven, or in earth, that I deſire in compariſon of thee: In the loſe of all, be thou more then all to me; Make haſte to ſuccour me thou that never faileſt them that put their truſt in thee.

Thou ſeeſt I have no power to oppoſe them that come againſt me, who are encouraged to fight under the pretence of fighting for me: But mine eyes are toward thee.

Thou needeſt no help, nor ſhall I, if I may have thine; If not to Conquer, yet at leaſt to Suffer.

If thou delighteſt not in my ſafetie, and

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prosperitie, behold here I am willing to be reduced to what thou wilt have me; whose judgements oft begin with thine own Children.

I am content to be nothing, that thou maiest be all.

Thou hast taught me that no King can be saved by the multitude of an Host; but yet thou canst save me by the multitude of thy Mercies, who art the Lord of Hosts; and the Father of Mercies.

Help me, O Lord, who am sore distressed on every side, yet be thou on my side; and I shall not fear what man can do unto me.

I will give thy Justice the glorie of my distresse.

O let thy mercie have the glory of my deliverance from them that persecute my Soul!

By my sins have I fought against thee, and robbed thee of thy Glorie. who am thy Subject, and justly mayest thou, by mine own Subjects, strip me of my strength, and eclipse thy glory.

But shew thy self, O my hope and onely refuge! Let not mine Enemies say, there is no help for him in his God.

Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my footsteps slip not.

Keep me as the apple of thine eye, hide me under the shadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marvellous loving kindnesse, O thou that savest by thy right hand them that put their trust in thee, from those that rise up against them.

From the wicked that oppresse me, from my deadly Enemies that compasse me about.

Shew me the path of life. In thy presence is fulnesse of joy, at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.

11. *Upon the nineteen Propositions first sent to the* KING; *and more afterwards.*

ALthough there be many things they demand yet if these be all, I am glad to see at what price they set mine own Safetie; and my Peoples Peace: which I cannot think I buy at too dear a rate, save onely the parting with my Conscience and Honour. If nothing else will satisfie, I must chuse rather to be as miserable and inglorious, as mine Enemies can make or wish me.

Some things here propounded to me have been offered by me; Others are easily granted: The rest (I think) ought not to be obtruded upon me, with the point of the Sword; nor urged with the injuries of a War, when I have already declared that I cannot yield to them, without violating my Conscience: tis strange, there can be no method of Peace, but by making Warre upon my Soul.

Here are many things required of me, but I see nothing offered to me, by the way of gratefull exchange of Honour, or any requitall of those favours, I have or can yet grant them.

This Honour they do me, to put me on the giving part, which is more Princely and Divine. They cannot ask more then I can give: may I but reserve to my self the incommunicable Jewell of my Conscience; and not be forced to part with that, whose losse nothing can repair or requite.

Some things (which they are pleased to propound) seem unreasonable to me: and while

while I have any masterie of my Reason, how can they think I can consent to them? Who know they are such as are inconsistent with being either a King, or a good Christian. My yielding so much (as I have already) makes some men confident I will deny nothing.

The love I have of my peoples Peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon me; but the love of Truth, and inward Peace hath more.

Should I grant some things they require, I should not so much weaken mine outward state of a King as wound that inward quiet of my Conscience, which ought to be, is, and ever shall be (by Gods grace) dearer to me than my Kingdomes.

Some things which a King might approve, yet in Honour and Policy are at some time to be denied, to some men, lest he should seem not to dare to deny any thing; and give too much incouragement to unreasonable demands or importunities.

But to bind my self to a generall and implicite consent, to what ever they shall desire, or, propound, (for such is one of their Propositions) were such a latitude of blind obedience, as never was expected from any Free man; nor fit to be required of any man, much lesse of a King by his own Subjects: any of whom he may possibly exceed as much in wisdome, as he doth in place and Power.

This were as if *Samson* should have consented, not onely to bind his own hands and cut off his hair, but to put out his own eyes, that the Philistines might with the more safety mock and abuse him; which they chose rather to do then quite to destroy him, when he was become so tame an object, and fit occasion for their sport and scorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of denial, seems an arrogancy; least of all becoming those who pretend to make their addresses in an humble and Loyall way of Petitioning; who by that sufficiently confesse their own inferiority, which obligeth them to rest, if not satisfied, yet quieted with such an answer as the will and reason of their Superiour thinks fit to give, who is acknowledged to have a freedome and power of Reason, to Consent, or Dissent, else it were very foolish and absurd to ask, what another not having liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be my Right belonging to me in Reason as a Man and in Honour as a Sovereign King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other then extream injury to confine my Reason to a necessity of granting all they have a mind to ask? whose minds may be as differing from mine, both in Reason and Honour, as their aims may be and their qualities are? which last, God and the Laws have sufficiently distinguisht, making me their Sovereign, and them my Subjects: whose Propositions may soon prove violent Oppositions if once they gain to be necessary impositions upon the Regall Authority. Since no man seeks to limit and confine his King, in Reason, who hath not a secret aim to share with him, or usurp upon him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have me trust to their moderation, and abandon mine own discretion; that so I might verifie what representation some have made of me to the world, that I am more fit to be their Pupil then their Prince. Truly I am not so confident of my own sufficiency, as not willingly to admit the counsel of others: But yet I am not so diffident of my self, as brutishly to submit to any mens

dictates;

dictates, & at once to betray the Sovereignty of Reason in my Soul, and the Majesty of my own Crown to any of my Subjects.

Least of all have I any ground of credulity, to induce me fully to submit to all the desires of those men, who will not admit or do refuse, and neglect to vindicate the Freedom of their own and others, sitting and voting in Parliament.

Besides, all men that know them, know this, how young States-men (the most part, of) these Propounders are; so that till experience of one seven years hath shewed me, how well they can Govern themselves; and so much power as is wrested from me; I should be very foolish indeed, and unfaithfull in my Trust, to put the reins of both Reason and Government, wholly out of my own into their hands; whose driving is already too much like *Jehues*: and whose forwardnesse to ascend the throne of Supremacy, portends more of *Phaeton* then of *Phœbus*; God divert the Omen if it be his will.

They may remember, that at best they sit in Parliament, as my Subjects, not my Superiours; called to be my Counsellours not Dictatours: Their Summons extends to recommend their advice, not to command my Duty.

When I first heard of Propositions to be sent me, I expected either some good Laws, which had been antiquated by the course of time, or overlaid by the corruption of manners, had been desired to a restauration of their vigour and due execution; or some evil customs preterlegal, and abuses personall had been to be removed: or some injuries done by my self, and others, to the Common-weal, were to be repaired: or some equable offertures were to be tendered to me,

wherein the advantages of my Crown being considered, by them, might fairly enduce me to condescend; to what tended to my Subjects good, without any great diminution of my self, whom Nature, Law, Reason, and Religion, bind me (in the first place) to preserve: without which, tis impossible to preserve my people according to my place.

Or (at least) I looked for such moderate desires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amisse in Church and State, as might still preserve the foundation and essentials of Government in both: not shake and quite overthrow either of them, without any regard to the Laws in force, the wisdom and piety of former Parliaments, the ancient and universal practice of Christian Churches; the Rights and Priviledges of particular men: Nor yet any thing offered in lieu, or in the room of what must be destroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the others Institution, and also supply its pretended defects, reform its abuses, and satisfie sober and wise men, not with soft and specious words, pretending zeal and speciall piety, but with pregnant and solid reasons both Divine and humane, which might justifie the abruptnesse and necessity of such vast alterations.

But in all their Propositions I can observe little of these kinds, or to these ends: Nothing of any Laws dis-joynted, which are to be restored; of any right invaded; of any justice to be unobstructed; of any compensations to be made: of any impartiall reformation to be granted: to all, or any of which, Reason, Religion, true Policy, or any other humane motives, might induce me.

But, as to the main matters propounded by them at any time, in which is either great novelty, or difficulty; I perceive that what were

were formerly looked upon as Factions in the State, and Schismes in the Church, and so punishable by the Laws, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamours, and assistance (chiefly) to demand not onely Tolerations of themselves, in their vanity, novelty, and confusion: but also Abolition of the Laws against them: and a totall extirpation of that Government, whose Rights they have a mind to invade.

This, as to the main: other Propositions are (for the most part) but as waste paper, in which those are wrapped up to present them somewhat more handsomely.

Nor do I so much wonder at the variety, and horrible novelty, of some Propositions, (there being nothing so monstrous, which some fancies are not prone to long for.)

This casts me into, not an admiration, but an extasie, how such things should have the fortune to be propounded in the name of the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*: among whom, I am very confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either House, whose judgements free, single, and apart, did approve or desire such destructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perswaded there remains in the *major* part of both Houses, (if free and full) so much Learning, Reason, Religion, and just Moderation, as to know how to sever between the use and the abuse of things, the institution, and the corruption, the Government and the Misgovernment, the Primitive Patterns, and the aberrations or blottings of after Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon so little, or no Reason (as yet produced to the contrary) so soon renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to antiquity, to the pity of

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their reforming Progenitors, to the proſperity of former times in this Church and State, under the preſent Government of the Church.

Yet by a ſtrange fatality theſe men ſuffer, either by their abſence, or ſilence, or negligence, or ſupine credulitie (believing that all is gold, which is gilded with ſhews of Zeal and Reformation) their private diſſenting in judgement to be drawn into the common ſewer or ſtream of the preſent vogue and humour: which hath its chief riſe and aberment from thoſe popular clamours and Tumults, which ſerved to give life and ſtrength to the infinite activity of thoſe men, who ſtudied with all diligence and policie, to improve to their innovating Deſigns, the preſent Diſtractions.

Such Armies of Propoſitions having ſo little, in my Judgement, of Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion on their ſide, as they had Tumult and Faction for their riſe, muſt not go alone, but ever be backt and ſeconded with Armies of Souldiers: Though the ſecond ſhould prevail againſt my Perſon, yet the firſt ſhould never overcome me, further then I ſee cauſe: for I look not at their Number and Power ſo much, as I weigh their Reaſon and Juſtice.

Had the two Houſes firſt ſued out their Livery, and once effectually redeemed themſelves from the Wardſhip of the Tumults (which can be no other then the Hounds that attend the cry, and hallow of thoſe men, who hunt after Factious, and private Deſigns, to the ruin of the Church and State)

Did my Judgement tell me, that the Propoſitions ſent to me were the Reſults of the *major* part of their Votes, who exerciſe their Freedom, as well as they have a right to ſit in Parliament: I ſhould then ſuſpect mine own

own judgement, for not ſpeedily and fully concurring with every one of them

For, I have charity enough to think, there are wiſe men among them: and humility to think, that, as in ſome things I may want, ſo tis fit I ſhould uſe their adviſe, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wiſdom ſuch a compleatneſſe and inerrability as to exclude my ſelf, ſince none of them hath that part to Act, that Truſt to diſcharge, nor that Eſtate and Honour to preſerve as my ſelf: without whoſe Reaſon concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence is neceſſary in all natures productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publick wiſdome, which makes the Laws.

But the unreaſonableneſſe of ſome Propoſitions is not more evident to me then this is, That they are not the joynt and free deſires of thoſe in their *major* number, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For, many of them ſavour very ſtrong of that old leaven of Innovations, masked under that name of Reformation: (which in my two laſt famous Predeceſſours dayes, heaved at, and ſometime threatned both Prince and Parliaments:) But I am ſure was never wont ſo far to infect the whoſe maſſe of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdome: however it diſperſed among the Vulgar: Nor was it likely ſo ſuddenly to taint the *major* part of both Houſes, as that they ſhould unanimouſly deſire, and affect ſo enormous and dangerous Innovations in Church and State, contrary to their former education, practiſe, and judgement.

Not that I am ignorant how the choice of many Members was carried by much Faction in the Countries: ſome tairſting after

after nothing more, then a passionate revenge of whatever displeasure they had conceived against me, my Court, or the Clergy.

But all Reason bids me impute these sudden and vast Desires of Change, to those few, who armed themselves with the many-headed, and many-handed Tumults.

No lesse doth Reason, Honour, and Safey both of Church and State command me, to chew such morsels, before I let them down: If the straitnesse of my Conscience will not give me leave to swallow down such Camels, as others do of Sacriledge, and injustice both to God and man, they have no more cause to quarrel with me, then for this, That my throat, is not so wide as theirs. Yet by Gods help I am resolved, That nothing of passion, or peevishnesse, or list to contradict, or vanity to shew my negative power: shall have any Byas upon my judgement to make me, gratifie my will by denying any thing, which my Reason and Conscience commands me not.

Nor on the other side will I consent to more then Reason, Justice, Honour, and Religion perswade me, to be for Gods glory, the Churches good, my Peoples welfare and my own peace.

I will study to satisfie my Parliament, and my People: but I will never, for fear or flattery, gratifie any Faction, how potent soever: for this were to nourish the disease and oppresse the body.

Although many mens loyalty and prudence are terrified from giving me that free and faithfull counsel: which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want: yet none can hinder me from craving of the counsel of that mighty Counseller, who can both suggest what is best, and incline my heart stedfastly to follow it.

O Thou first and eternall Reason, whose wisdome is fortified with omnipotency, furnish thy servant, first with clear discoveries of Truth, Reason, and justice, in my Understanding: then so confirm my will and resolution to adhere to them, that no terrours, injuries or oppressions of my Enemies may ever inforce me, against those rules, which thou by them hast planted in my Conscience.

Thou never madest me a King, that I should be lesse then a Man; and not dare to say, Yea, or Nay, as I see cause; which freedome is not denyed to the meanest creature, that hath the use of Reason, and liberty of Speech.

What be blameable in me, which is commendable veracity and constancy in others?

Thou seest, O Lord, with what partiality, and injustice, they deny that freedome to me their King, which thou hast given to all men; and which Themselves Pertinatiously chalenge to themselves: while they are so tender of the least breach of their Priviledges.

To thee I make my supplication, who canst guide us by an unerring rule, through the perplexed Labyrinths of our own thoughts, and other mens proposals, which I have some cause to suspect, are purposely cast as snares, that by my granting or denying them, I might be more entangled in those difficulties, wherewith they lie in wait to afflict me.

O Lord, make thy way plain before me.

Let not my own sinfull passions cloud, or divert thy sacred suggestions.

Let thy glory be my end; thy word my rule; and then thy will be done.

I cannot please all, I care not to please some men; If I may be happy to please thee, I need not fear whom I displease.

Thou that makest the wisdom of the world foolishnesse, and takest in their own devices, such as are wise in their own conceits, make me wise by thy truth, for thy Honour, my Kingdoms general good, and my own Souls salvation, and I shall not much regard the worlds opinion, or diminution of me.

The lesse wisdom they are willing to impute to me, the more they shall be convinced of thy wisdome directing me, while I deny nothing fit to be granted, out of crosnesse, or humour; nor grant any thing which is to be denied, out of any fear, or flattery of men.

Suffer me not to be guilty, or unhappy, by willing or inconsiderate advancing any mens designs, which are injurious to the publick good, while I confirm them by my consent.

Nor let me be any occasion to hinder or defraud the Publick of what is best, by any morose or perverse discentings.

Make me so humbly charitable, as to follow their advise, when it appears to be for the Publick good, of whose affections to me, I have yet but few evidences to assure me.

Thou canst as well blesse honest errours, as blast fraudulent counsels.

Since we must give an account of every evil and idle word in private, at thy Tribunall; Lord make me carefull of those solemn declarations of my mind, which are like to have the greatest influence upon the Publick, either for wo or weal.

The lesse others consider what they ask, make me the more solicitous what I Answer.

Though mine own, and my Peoples pressures are grievous, and Peace would be very pleasing;

Pleasing; yet Lord, never suffer me to avoid the one, or purchase the other, with the least expence or waste of my Conscience; whereof thou, O Lord, onely art deservedly more Master then my self.

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12. *Upon the Rebellion and troubles in* Ireland.

THe Commotions in *Ireland* were so sudden, and so violent, that it was heard at first either to discern the rise, or apply a remedy to that precipitate Rebellion.

Indeed that sea of bloud which hath there been cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to drown any man in eternall both infamie and misery, whom God shall find the malicious Authour or Instigator of its effusion.

It fell out, as a most unhappy advantage to some mens malice against me; that when they had impudence enough to lay any thing to my charge, this bloudy opportunity should be offered them, with which I must be aspersed: Although there was nothing which could be more abhorred to me being so full of sin against God, disloyalty to my self, and destructive to my Subjects.

Some men took it very ill not to be believed, when they affirmed, that what the *Irish* Rebels did was done with my privity (at least) if not by my Commission. But these knew too well, that it is no news for some of my Subjects to fight, not onely without my Commission but against my Command and Person too, yet all the while to pretend, they fight by my Authority, and for my Safety.

I would to God the *Irish* had nothing to alledge for their imitation against those whose blame must need be the greater, by how

how much Proteſtant Principles are more againſt, all Rebellion againſt Princes, then thoſe of Papiſts. Nor will the goodneſſe of mens intentions excuſe the ſcandall, and contagion of their Examples.

But whoever fail of their duty toward me, I muſt bear the blame: this Honour my Enemies have alwayes done me, to think moderate injuries not proportionate to me, nor competent Trials, either of my Patience under them, or my Pardon of them.

Therefore, with exquiſite malice they have mixed the gall and vinager of falſity and contempt, with the cup of my Affliction; Charging me not onely with untruths, but ſuch, as wherein I have the greateſt ſhare of loſſe and diſhonour by what is committed; whereby (in all Policy, Reaſon, and Religion, having leaſt cauſe to give the leaſt conſent, and moſt grounds of utter deteſtation) I might be repreſented by them to the world the more inhumane and barbarous: Like ſome Cyclopick monſter whom nothing will ſerve to eat and drink, but the fleſh and bloud of my own Subjects; in whoſe common welfare my intereſt lies as much as ſome mens doth in their perturbations: Who think they cannot do well but in evil times; nor ſo cunningly as in lying the *odium* of thoſe ſad events, on others, wherewith themſelves are moſt pleaſed, and whereof they have been not the leaſt occaſion.

And certainly, tis thought by many wiſe men, that the prepoſtrous rigour, & unreaſonable ſeverity, which ſome men carried before them in *England*, was not the leaſt incentive, that kindled, and blew up into thoſe horrid flames, the ſparks of diſcontent, which wanted not prediſpoſed fewel for Rebellion in *Ireland*; where deſpair being added to their former diſcontents, and the fears of utter extirpation

extirpation to their wonted oppreſsions, it was eaſie to provoke to an open Rebellion, a people prone enough to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by ſome principles of their Religion, and the natural deſires of Libertie; both to exempt themſelves from their preſent reſtraints, and to prevent thoſe after rigours, wherewith they ſaw themſelves apparently threatened, by the covetous zeal, and uncharitable furie of ſome men, who think it a great argument of the truth of their Religon to endure no other but their own.

God knows, as I can with truth waſh my hands in innocencie, as to any guilt in that Rebellion; ſo I might waſh them in my Tears, as to the ſad apprehenſions I had, to ſee it ſpread ſo far, and make ſuch waſte. And this in a time, when diſtractions and jealouſies here in *England* made moſt men rather intent to their own ſafetie, or deſigns they were driving, then to the relief of thoſe, who were every day unhumanely butchered in *Ireland*; whoſe tears and bloud might, if nothing elſe, have quenched, or, at leaſt, for a time, repreſſed and ſmothered thoſe ſparks of Civil diſſentions and jealouſies, which in *England* ſome men moſt induſtriouſly ſcattered.

I would to God no man had been leſſe affected with *Irelands* ſad eſtate then my ſelf; I offered to go my ſelf in Perſon upon that expedition; But ſome men were either afraid I ſhould have any one Kingdom quieted: or loth they were to ſhoot at any mark here leſſe then my ſelf: or that any ſhould have the glorie of my deſtruction, but themſelves. Had my many offers been accepted, I am confident, neither the ruin had been ſo great, nor the calamitie ſo long, nor the remedie ſo deſperate.

So

So that, the next to the sin of those, who began that Rebellion, theirs must needs be, who either hindred the speedie suppressing of it by Domestick dissensions, or diverted the Aids, or exasperated the Rebels to the most desparate resolutions and actions; by by threatening all extremities, not onely to the known Heads and chief Incendiaries, but even to the whole communitie of that Nation: Resolving to destroy Root and Branch, Men, Women, and Children, without any regard to those usual pleas for mercie, which Conquerours, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their own breasts, in behalf of those, whose oppressive fears rather then their malice, engaged them: or whose imbecilitie for Sex and Age was such, as they could neither lift up a hand against them, nor distinguish between their right hand and their left. Which preposterous, and (I think) unevangelicall Zeal, is too like that of the rebuked Disciples, who would go no lower in their revenge, then to call for fire from heaven upon whole Cities, for the repulse or neglect of a few: or like that of *Jacobs* sons, which the Father both blamed and cursed: chusing rather to use all Extremities which might drive men to desperate obstinacie, then to apply moderate Remedies: such as might punish some with exemplary Justice, yet disarm others with tenders of mercy upon their submission, and Our protection of them, from the furie of those, who would soon drown them, if they refused to swim down the popular stream with them.

But some kind of Zeal counts all mercifull moderation, luke-warmnesse: and had rather be cruel then counted cold, and is not seldom more greedie to kill the Bear for his skin, then for any harm he hath done.

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The confiscation of mens Estates being more beneficiall, then the charity of saving their Lives, or reforming their errours.

When all proportionable succours of the poor Protestants in *Ireland* (who were daily massacred, and overborn with numbers of now desperate Enemies) was diverted and obstructed here; I was earnestly entreated, and generally advised by the chief of the Protestant party there, to get them some respite and breathing by a Cessation, without which they saw no probabilitie (unlesse by a miracle) to preserve the remnant that had yet escaped: God knows with how much commiseration, and solicitous caution I carried on that busines, by persons of Honour and Integritie; that so I might neither Incourage the Rebels Insolence, nor discourage the Protestants Loialtie and Patience.

Yet when this was effected in the best sort, that the necessitie and difficultie of affairs would then permit. I was then to suffer again in my Reputation and Honour, because I suffered not the Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfuls of the Protestants there.

I thought, that in all reason, the gaining of that respite could not be so much to the Rebels advantages (which some have highly calumniated against me) as it might have been for the Protestants future, as well as present safetie, If during the time of that Cessation, some men had had the grace to have laid *Irelands* sad condition more to heart, and laid aside those violent motions, which were here carried on by those, that had better skil to let bloud then to stanch it.

But in all the mis-constructions of my Actions, (which are prone to find more credulitie in men to what is false, and evil, then love or charitie to what is true and good)

as

as I have no Judge but God above me, so I can have comfort to appeal to his Omniscience, who doth not therefore denie my Innocence, because he is pleased so far to trie my patience, as he did his servant *Jobs*.

I have enough to do, to look to my own Conscience, and the faithfull discharge of my Trust as a *King*; I have scarce leasure to consider those swarms of reproches, which issue out of some mens mouths and hearts, as easily as smoke, or sparks do out of a furnace; Much lesse to make such prolix Apologies, as might give those men satisfaction: who conscious to their own depth of wickedr esse, are loth to believe any man not to be as bad themselves.

Tis Kingly to do well and hear ill: if I can but act the one, I shall not much regard to hear the other.

I thank God, I can hear with patience, as bad as my worst Enemies can falsly say. And, I hope, I shall still do better then they desire, or deserve I should.

I beleive it will at last appear, that they who first began to embroil my other kingdoms are in great part guiltie, if not of the first letting out, yet of the not timely stopping those horrid effusions of bloud in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever mine Enemies please to say, or think) I look upon, as that of my other Kingdoms, exhausted out of my own veins; no man being so much weakened by it, as my self; And I hope, though mens unsatiable Cruelties never will, yet the mercie of God will at length say to his Justice, *It is enough*: and command the Sword of Civil Wars to sheath it self: his mercifull Justice intending, I trust, not our utter confusion, but our cure; the abatement of our sins, not the desolating of these Nations.

O My God, let those infinite Mercies preserve us once again, which I and my Kingdoms have formerly abused, and can never deserve, should be restored.

Thou seest how much crueltie among Christians is acted under the colour of Religion as if we could not be Christians, unlesse we crucifie one another.

Because we have not more loved thy Truth, and practiced in Charitie, thou hast sufferd a Spirit of errour and bitternesse, of mutual and mortal hatred to rise among us.

O Lord, forgive wherein we have sinned, and sanctifie what we have suffered..

Let our Repentance be our Recoverie, as our great sins have been our Ruine.

Let not the miseries I and my Kingdoms have hitherto suffered seem smal to thee: but make our sins appear to our consciences, as they are represented in the glasse of thy judgements; for thou never punishest small failings, with so severe afflictions.

O therefore according to the multitude of thy great mercies, pardon our sins, and remove thy judgements, which are very many, and very heavy.

Yet let our sins be ever more grievous to us, then thy judgements; and make us more willing to repent, then to be relieved; first give us the peace of penitent Consciences, and then the tranquilitie of united Kingdoms.

In the sea of our Saviours Bloud drown our sins; and through this red sea of our own bloud, bring us at last to a state of Pietie, Peace, and Plentie.

As my publick relations to all make me share in all my Subjects sufferings; so give me such a pious sence of them, as becomes a Christian King, and a loving Father of my People.

Let

Let the ſcandalous and unjuſt reproches caſt upon me be as breath, more to kindle my compaſsion; Give me grace to heap charitable coals of fire upon their heads to melt them, whoſe malice or cruel zeal hath kindled, or hindred the quenching of thoſe flames which hath ſo much waſted my three Kingdoms.

O reſcue and aſsiſt thoſe poor Proteſtants in *Ireland*, whom thou haſt hitherto preſerved:

And lead thoſe in the wayes of thy ſaving Truths, whoſe Ignorance or Errours have filled them with rebellious and deſtructive Principles; which they act under an opinion That they do thee good ſervice.

Let the hand of thy Juſtice be againſt thoſe who maliciouſly and deſpitefully have raiſed or fomented thoſe cruel and deſperate Wars.

Thou that art far from deſtroying the innocent with the guiltie, and the erronious with the malicious; thou that hadſt pitie of *Nineveh* for the many children that were therein, give not over the whole ſtock of that populous and ſeduced Nation, to the wrath of thoſe, whoſe coveteouſneſſe makes them cruel; nor to their anger, which is too fierce; and therefore Juſtly curſed.

Preſerve, if it be thy will, in the midſt of the fornace of thy ſevere juſtice, a Poſterity which may praiſe thee for thy Mercy;

And deal with me, not according to mens unjuſt reproches, but according to the innocentie of my hands in thy ſight.

If I have deſired or delighted in the woefull day of my Kingdoms calamities, if I have not earneſtly ſtudied, and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and compoſing of theſe bloudie Diſtractions; then let thy hand be againſt me and my Fathers houſe. O Lord, thou knowſt I have enemies enough of mine

as

as I need not, so I should not dare thus to imprecate thy curse on me and mine, if my Conscience did not witnesse my integritie, which thou, O Lord, knowest right well; But I trust not to my own merit, but thy mercies, spare us, O Lord, and be not angry with us for ever.

13. *Upon the calling in of the* Scots, *and their coming.*

THe *Scots* are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common ties of Nature Sovereigntie, and Bountie, with my Father of blessed memory, but also speciall and late obligations of favours, having gratified the active Spirits among them so far, that I seemed to many, to prefer the desires of that Partie, before mine own interest and Honour. But, I see Royall bountie emboldens some men to ask, and act beyond all bounds of modestie and gratitude.

My charitie and act of Pacification, forbids me to reflect on former passages, wherein I shall ever be far from letting any mans ingratitude, or inconstancie make me repent of what I granted them for the Publick good: I pray God it may so prove.

The coming again of that partie into *England*, with an Army, onely to conform this Church to their late new Model, cannot but seem as unreasonable, as they would thought the same measure offered from hence to themselves.

Other errand I could never understand they had (besides those common and vulgar flourishes for Religion & Liberty) save onely to confirm the Presbyterian Copie they had lent, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloudy Characters.

Which design and end, whether it will justifie the use of such violent means before the divine Justice, I leave to their consciences to judge, who have already felt the miserie of the means, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdom, or that.

Such knots and crosnesse of grain being objected here, as will hardly suffer that form which they cry up, as the onely just Reformation, and settling of Government and Disciplin in Churches, to go on so smoothly here, as it might do in *Scotland*. and was by them imagined would have done in *England*; when so many of the *English* Clergie, through levitie, or discontent, if no worse passion, suddenly quitted their former engagements to Episcopacie, and faced about to their Presbyterie.

It cannot but seem either Passion, or some self-seeking, more then true Zeal, and pious Discretion for any forreign State, or Church, to prescribe such medicines onely for others, which themselves have used, rather successfully then commendably; not considering that the same Physick on different constitutions, will have different operations: That it may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor do I know any such tough and malignant humours in the constitution of the *English* Church, which gentler Applications then those of an Army, might not easily have removed: Nor is it so proper to hew out religious Reformations by the Sword, as to polish them by fair and equall disputations among those that are most concerned in the differences, whom not Force, but Reason ought to convince.

But their design now, seemed rather to cut off all disputation here, then to procure a fair and equall one: For it was concluded these

there, that the *English* Clergie must conform to the *Scots* Patterne before ever they could be heard what they could say for themselves, or against the others way.

I could have wished fairer proceedings both for their credits, who urge things with such violence; and for other mens consciences, too, who can receive little satisfaction in these points which are maintained rather by Souldiers fighting in the field, then Scholars disputing in free and learned Synods.

Surely in matters of Religion, those Truths gain most on mens judgements and Consciences, which are least urged with secular violence, which weakens Truth with prejudices, and is unreasonable to be used, till such means of rationall conviction hath been applied, as leaving no excuse for ignorance, condemns mens obstinacie to deserved penalties.

Which no charitie will easily suspect of so many learned and pious Church-men in *England*; who, being alwayes bred up and conformable to the Government o Episcopacie, cannot so soon renounce both their former opinion and practise, onely because that Partie of the *Scots* will needs, by force, assist a like party here, either to drive all Ministers as Sheep into the common fold of Presbyterie, or destroy them; at least, fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their flocks. If the *Scots* sole Presbyterie were proved to be the onely institution of Jesus Christ, for all Churches Governments; yet I believe it would be hard to prove that Christ had given those *Scots*, or any other of my Subjects Commission by the Sword to set it up in any o my Kingdoms without my Consent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his

Apoſtles payed to the chief Governours of States, where they lived, as very clear in the Goſpel; but that he, or they ever commanded to ſet ſuch a party of Presbyters, and in ſuch a way as thoſe *Scots* endeavour; I think is not very diſputable.

If Presbyterie in ſuch a ſupremacy be an inſtitution of Chriſt, ſure it differs from all others; and is the firſt and onely point of Chriſtianitie, that was to be planted and watered with ſo much Chriſtian bloud; whoſe effuſions runs in a ſtream ſo contrary to that of the Primitive Planets, both of Chriſtianitie and Epiſcopacie, which was with patient ſhedding of their own bloud, not violent drawing other mens; ſure there is too much of Man in it, to have much of Chriſt, none of whoſe inſtitutions were carried on, or begun with the temptations of Covetouſneſſe or Ambition; of both which this is vehemently ſuſpected.

Yet was there never any thing upon the point, which thoſe *Scots* had by Armie or Commiſsioners to move me with, by their many Solemn obteſtations, and pious threatnings, but onely this, to repreſent to me the wonderfull neceſsitie of ſetting up their Presbyterie in *England*, to avoid the further miſeries of a War; which ſome men chiefly on this deſign at firſt had begun, and now further engaged themſelves to continue.

What hinders that any ſects, Schiſmes, or Hereſies, if they can get but numbers, ſtrength and opportunitie, may not, according to this opinion and pattern, ſet up their wayes by the like methods of violence? all which Presbytery ſeeks to ſuppreſſe, and render odious under thoſe names: when wiſe and learned men think that nothing hath more marks of Schiſme and Sectariſme, then this Presbyterian way, both as to the Ancient, and ſtill moſt

most Universall way of the Church-Government, and especially as to the particular Laws and Constitutions of this *English* Church, which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for me, till I see more Rationall and Religious motives, then Souldiers use to carry in their Knapsacks.

But we must leave the successe of all to God, who hath many waies (having first taken us off from the folly of our opinions, and fury of our passion) to teach us those rules of true Reason and peaceable Wisdom, which is from above, tending most to Gods Glorie and his Churches good; which I think my self so much the more bound in Conscience to attend, with the most judicious zeal and care, by how much I esteem the Church above the State, the Glory of Christ above mine own; and the salvation of mens souls above the preservation of their bodies and estates.

Nor may any men, I think, without sinne and presumption, forcibly endeavour to cast the Churches under my care and tuition, into the molds they have fancied, and fashioned to their designs, till they have first gained my consent, and resolved, both my own and other mens Consciences, by the strength of their Reasons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manly, Christian, nor Loyall; shall never either shake or unsettle my Religion; nor any mans else, who knows what Religion means: And how farre it is removed from all Faction; whose proper engine is force; the arbitratour of beasts, not of reasonable men, much lesse of humble Christians, and Loyall Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have such high conceits of themselves, that they care not what cost they lay out upon their Opinions; espe-

cially those that have some temptation of gain, to recompence their losses and hazards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the *Scots* Armies coming in against my will, and their forfeiture of so many Obligations of dutie, and gratitude to me: then I wondered, how those here, could so much distrust Gods assistance; who so much pretended Gods cause to the People, as if they had the certaintie of some divine Revelation; considering they were more then competently furnished with my Subjects Arms and Ammunition, my Navie by Sea, my Forts, Castles, and Cities by Land.

But I find, that men jealous of the justifiableness of their doings and designs before God, never think they have humane strength enough to carry their work on, seem it never so plausible to the People; what cannot be justified by Law or Religion, had need be fortified with Power.

And yet such is the inconstancy that attends all minds engaged in violent motions, that whom some of them one while earnestly invite to come in to their assistance, others of them soon after are wearie of, and with nauseating cast them out: what one partie thought to rivet to a setledness by the strength and influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects and contemns; at once despising the Kirk Government and Discipline of the *Scots*, and frustrating the successe of so chargeable, more then charitable, assistance: For, sure the Church of *England* might have purchased at a far cheaper rate, the truth and happiness of Reformed Government and Discipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the best Divines of Christendom for their advice in a full and free Synod; which I was ever willing to, and desirous of, that matters being impartially

sett.ed,

seeled,, might be more satisfactorie to all; and more durable.

But much of Gods justice, and mans folly, will at length be discovered, through all the films and pretentions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their designs; In vain do men hope to build their pietie on the ruins of Loyaltie, Nor can those considerations or designs be durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of setting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But, as my best Subjects of *Scotland* never deserted me, so I cannot think that the most are gone so far from me, in a prodigalitie of their love and respects toward me, as to make me to despair of their return, when, besides the bonds of Nature and Conscience, which they have to me, all Reason and true Policie will teach them, that their chiefest interest consists in their fidelitie to the Crown, not in their serviceablenesse to any part of the People, to a neglect and betraying of my Safetie and Honour for their own advantages: However the lesse cause I have to trust to men, the more I shall apply my self to God.

THe troubles of my Soul are enlarged, O Lord, bring thou me out of my distresse.

Lord direct thy Servant in the wayes of that pious simplicity which is the best policy.

Deliver me from the combined strength of those, who have so much of the Serpents subtiltie, that they forget the Doves Innocencie.

Though hand joyn in hand, yet let them not prevail against my Soul, to the betraying of my Conscience and Honour.

Thou, O Lord, canst turn the hearts of those Parties in both Nations, as thou didst

the men of *Judah* and *Israel*, to restore *David* with as much loyall zeal, as they did with inconstancie and eagerneſſe purſue him.

Preſerve the love of thy Truth and uprightneſſe in me, and I ſhall not deſpair of my Subjects affections returning towards me.

Thou canſt ſoon cauſe the overflowing Seas to ebbe, and retire back again to the bounds which thou haſt appointed for them.

O my God, I truſt in thee; let me not be aſhamed, let not my enemies triumph over me

Let them be aſhamed who tranſgreſſe without a cauſe; let them be turned back that perſecute my Soul.

Let integritie and uprightneſſe preſerve me, for I wait on thee, O Lord.

Redeem thy Church, O God, out of all its troubles.

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14. *Upon the Covenant.*

THe *Presbyterian Scots* are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of Auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till thoſe thoſe that call them in, have pawned their Souls to them by a Solemn *League* and *Covenant*.

Where many engines of religious and fair pretentions are brought chiefly to batter, or raſe Epiſcopacy: This they make their grand evil Spirit, which with ſome other Imps purpoſely added, to make it more odious and terrible to the Vulgar, muſt by ſo ſolemn a charm and exorciſm be caſt out of this Church, after more then 1000. yeares poſſeſſion here, from the firſt plantation of Chriſtianity in this Iſland, and an univerſall preſcription of time and practiſe in all other Churches, ſince the Apoſtles time till this laſt Century.

But no Antiquitie muſt plead for it, Presbyterie,

tery, like a young Heir, thinks the Father hath lived long enough, and impatient not to be in the Bishops chair and Authority (though Lay-men go away with the Revenues) all art is used to sink Episcopacy, and lanch Presbytery in *England*; which was lately Boyed up in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although I am unsatisfied with many passages in that Covenant (some referring to my self with very dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the design and drift touching the Disciplin and Government of the Church; and such a manner of carrying them on to new wayes, by Oaths and Covenants, where it is hard for men to be engaged by no lesse, then swearing for, or against those things, which are of no clear morall necessity; but very disputable, and controverted among learned and godly men: whereto the application of Oaths can hardly be made and enjoyned with that judgement and certainty in ones self, or that charity and candour to others of different opinion, as I think Religion requires, which never refuses fair and equable deliberations; yea, and dissentings too, in matters onely probable.

The enjoyning of Oaths upon People, must needs in things doubtfull be dangerous, as in things unlawfull, damnable; and no lesse superfluous, where former religious and legall Engagements, bound men sufficiently, to all necessary dutyes. Nor can I see how they will reconcile such an Innovating Oath and Covenant, with that former Protestation which was so lately taken, to maintain the Religion established in the Church of *England*; since they count Discipline so great a part of Religion.

But ambitious minds never think they

have laid snares and gins enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulity: for by such politick and seemingly pious Stratagems, they think to keep the populacy fast to their parties under the terrour of perjury, whereas certainly all honest and wise men ever thought themselves sufficiently bound by former Ties of Religion, Allegiance, and Laws, to God and man.

Nor can such after Contracts, devised and imposed by a few men in a declared Party, without my consent, or without any like power or precedent from Gods or mans Laws, be ever thought, by judicious men, sufficient either to absolve or slacken those morall and eternall Bonds of Duty, which lie upon all my Subjects consciences both to God and me.

Yet, as things now stand, good men shall least offend God or me, by keeping their Covenant in honest and lawfull wayes: since I have the charity to think, that the chief end of the Covenant in such mens intentions, was, to preserve Religion in purity, and the Kingdoms in Peace: To other then such ends and means they cannot think themselves engaged; nor will those, that have any true touches of Conscience endeavour to carry on the best Designs, (much lesse such as are, and will be dayly more apparently factious and ambitious,) by any unlawfull means, under that title of the Covenant: unlesse they dare preferre ambiguous dangers and un-authorized Novelties before their known and sworn Duties, which are indispensable, both to God and my self.

I am prone to believe and hope, That many who took the Covenant, are yet firm to this judgement, That such later Vows, Oaths, or Leagues can never blot out those former

former gravings and characters, which by just and lawfull Oaths were made upon their Souls.

That which makes such Confederations by way of Solemn Leagues and Covenants more to be suspected, is, That they are the common Road, used in all Factions and powerfull Perturbations of State or Church; Where Formalities of extraordinary Zeal and Piety are never more studied and elaborate, then, when Politicians most agitate desperate Designs against all that is setled, or sacred in Religion, and Laws; which by such scrues are cunningly, yet forcibly wrested by secret steps and lesse sensible degrees, from their known rule and wonted practice, to comply with the humours of those men, who aim to subdue all to their own will and power, under the disguises of holy Combinations.

Which cords and wyths will hold mens consciences no longer, then force attends and twists them: for every man soon grows his own Pope, and easily absolves himself of those Ties, which, not the commands of Gods Word, or the Laws of the Land but onely the subtilty and terrour of a Party calls upon him: either superfluous and vain when they were sufficiently tied before: or fraudulent and injurious, if by such after ligaments they find the Imposers really aiming to dissolve, or suspend their former just and necessary Obligations.

Indeed such illegall wayes seldome or never intend the engaging men more to Duties, but onely to Parties: therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of Piety pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Partie and Design intended.

I see the Imposers of it are content to make

make their Covenant like manna (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and reliſh, who will but ſwallow it: They admit any mens ſenſes of it, though divers contrary: with any Salvoes, Cautions, and Reſervations, ſo as they croſſe not the chief Deſign, which is laid againſt the Church and me.

It is enough if they get but the reputation of a ſeeming encreaſe to their Partie, ſo little do men remember that God is not mocked.

In ſuch latitudes of ſenſe. I believe many that love me, and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not ſo fondly and ſuperſtitiouſly taken by it, as now to Act clearly againſt all Piety and Loyalty: who firſt yielded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruin, which hung over their heads in caſe they wholly refuſed it.

Wherein, the latitude of ſome generall Clauſes may (perhaps) ſerve ſomewhat to relieve them, as of *Doing and endeavouring what lawfully you may, in their Places and Callings*, and *according to the Word of God*: for theſe (indeed) carry no man beyond thoſe Bounds of good Conſcience, which are certain and fixed either in Gods Laws, as to the Generall; or the Laws of the State and Kingdome, as to the Particular Regulation and Exerciſe of mens Duties

I would to God ſuch as glory moſt in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themſelves within thoſe lawfull Bounds, to which God hath called them: ſurely it it were the beſt way to expiate the raſhneſſe of taking it; which muſt needs then appear, when beſides the want of a full and lawfull Authority at firſt to enjoyn it, it ſhall actually be carried on beyond and againſt thoſe ends which were in it ſpecified and pretended. I willingly forgive

forgive such mens taking the Covenant, who keep it within such Bounds of Piety, Law, and Loyalty, as can never hurt either the Church, my Self, or the publick Peace: Against which no mans lawfull Calling can engage him.

As for that Reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it just or comely, that by the partiall advise of a few Divines, (of so soft and servile tempers, as disposed them to sudden acting and compliance contrary to their former judgements, profession, and practice) such foul Scandals and Suspitions should be cast upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deserved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by any men of learning and candour at home: all whose judgements I cannot but prefer before any mens now factiously engaged.

No man can be more forward then my self to carry on all due Reformations, with mature judgement, and a good Conscience, in what things I shall (after impartiall advise) be, by Gods Word, and right reason convinced to be amisse; I have offered more then the fullest, freest, and wisest Parliaments did desire.

But the sequell of some mens Actions makes it evident, that the main Reformation intended, is, The abasing of Episcopacie into Presbytery, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriously used, as to their legall Rights, then the Bishops, and Church-men. These as the fattest Dear, must be destroyed; the other Rascal-herd of Schismes, Heresies, *&c.* being lean, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration: Thus *Naboths* Vineyard made him the onely Blas-

phemer

phemed of his City, and fit to die. Still I see, while the breath of Religion fills the Sails, Profit is the Compasse, by which Factious men steer their Course in all seditious Commotions.

I thank God, 'as no man lay more open to the sacrilegious temptation of usurping the Churches Lands and Revenues, (which issuing chiefly from the Crown, are held of it, and legally can revert onely to the Crown with my consent) so I have alwayes had such a perfect abhorrence of it in my Soul, that I never found the least inclination to such sacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater desire to have Bishops and all Church men so reformed, that they may best deserve and use, not onely what the pious munificence of my Predecessours hath given to God and the Church, but all other Additions of Christian bounty.

But no necessity shall ever, I hope, drive Me or Mine to invade or sell the Priests Lands, which both *Pharaohs* Divinity and *Josephs* true Piety abhorred to do; So unjust I think it both in the eye of Reason and Religion, to deprive the most sacred Employment of all due Encouragements; and like the other hard hearted *Pharaoh*, to withdraw the Straw, and encrease the Task; so pursuing the oppressed Church, as some have done to the Red Sea of a Civil War, where nothing but a miracle can save either it or him, who esteems it his greatest Title to be called, and his chiefest glory to be, *The Defender of the Church, both in its true Faith and its just fruitions; equally abhorring Sacriledge and Apostacy.*

I had rather live as my Predecessour *Henry* the second sometime did on the Churches Alms, then vo ently to take the bread out of Bishops and Ministers mouths.

The

The next work will be *Jeroboams* Reformation, consecrating the meaneſt of the People to be Prieſts in *Iſrael*, to ſerve thoſe golden *Calves* who have enriched themſelves with the Churches Patrimony and Dowry; which how it thrived both with Prince, Prieſts, and People, is well enough known: And ſo it will be here, when from the tuition of Kings and Queens, which have been nurſing Fathers, and Mothers of this Church, it ſhall be at their allowance, who have already diſcovered, what hard Fathers and Step-mothers they will be.

If the poverty of *Scotland* might, yet the plenty of *England* cannot excuſe the envy & rapine of the Churches Rights, & Revenues. I cannot ſo much as pray God to prevent thoſe ſad Conſequences, which will inevitably follow the parity and poverty, of Miniſters, both in Church and State: ſince I think it no leſſe then a mocking and tempting of God, to deſire him to hinder thoſe Miſchiefs whoſe Occaſions and Remedies are in our own power: it being every mans ſin not to avoid the one, and not to uſe the other.

Their are wayes enough to repair the Breaches of the State without the Ruins of the Church: as I would be a Reſtorer of the one, ſo I would not be an oppreſſour of the other under the pretence of Publick Debts: The Occaſions contracting them were bad enough, but ſuch a diſcharging of them would be much worſe: I pray God neither I, nor Mine, may be acceſſary to either.

TO thee, O Lord, do I addreſſe my prayer, beſeeching thee to pardon the raſhneſſe of my Subjects Swearings, and to quicken their ſenſe and obſervation of thoſe juſt, morall, and indiſpenſable Bonds, which thy Word, and the Laws of this Kingdom have laid

laid upon their Consciences; From which no pretensions of Piety and Reformation are sufficient to absolve, them or to engage them to any contrary Practices.

Make them at length seriously to consider, that nothing violent and injurious can be religious.

Thou alloweſt no mans committing Sacriledge under the zeal of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not sacrilegious Designs to have the countenance of religious Ties.

Thou hast taught Us by the wiſeſt of Kings, that it is a snare to take things that are holy, and after Vows to make enquiry.

Ever keep thy Servant from consenting to perjurious and sacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curse to all Posterity of robbing Thee and thy Church of what thy bounty hath given us, and thy clemency hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though my Treasures are exhausted, my Revenues diminished, and my Debts encreased, yet never suffer Me to be tempted to use such profane Reparations; lest a coal from thine Altar set such a fire on my Throne and Conscience as will be hardly quenched.

Let not the Debts and Engagements of the Publick, which some mens follie and prodigality hath contracted, be an occasion to impoverish thy Church.

The State may soon recover, by thy blessing of Peace upon us: The Church is never likely, in times, where the Charity of most men is grown so cold, and their Religion so illiberall.

Continue to those that serve thee and thy Church all those incouragements, which by the will of the pious Donors, and the justice of the Laws are due unto them: and give them grace to deserve and use them aright to

thy

thy glory, and the relief of the poor; That Priests may be clothed with righteousnesse, and the poor may be satisfied with bread.

Let not holy things be given to Swine nor the Churches bread to dogs: rather let them go about the Citie, grin like a dog, and grudge that they are not satisfied.

Let those sacred morsels, which some men have already by violence devoured, neither digest with them, nor theirs: Let them be as *Naboths* Vine yard to *Ahab*, gall in their mouths, rottennesse to their Names, a moth to their Families, and a sting to their Consciences.

Break in sunder, O Lord, all voilent and sacrilegious Confederations, to do wickedly and injurously.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have bandied together against the Church and State: that the folly of such may be manifest to all men, and proceed no further.

But so favour my righteous dealing, O Lord, that in the mercies of thee, the most High, I may never miscarrie.

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15 *Upon the many Jealousies raised, and Scandals cast upon the* KING, *to stir up the People against him.*

IF I had not mine own innocencie, and Gods protection, it were hard for me to stand out against those strategems and conflicts o malice, which by Falsities seek to oppresse the Truth: and by Jealousies to sup-

ply

ply the defect of Real causes, which might seem to justifie so unjust engagements against me.

And indeed, the worst effects of open Hostilitie come short of these Designs. For I can more willingly lose my Crowns, then my Credit: nor are my Kingdoms so dear to me, as my Reputation and Honour.

Those must have a period with my life: but these may survive to a glorious kind of Immortalititie, when I am dead and gone: A good name being the embalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating of them to an Eternitie of love and gratitude among Posteritie.

Those foul and false Aspersions were secret Engins at first employed against my Peoples love of me: that undermining their opinion and value of me, mine Enemies, and theirs too, might at once blow up their affections, and batter down their Loyaltie.

Wherein yet, I thank God, the detriment of my Honour is not so afflictive to me, as the sin and danger of my Peoples Souls, whose eyes once blinded with such mists of Suspicions, they are soon misled into the most desperate precipices of Actions; wherein they do not onely not consider their sin and danger, but glory in their zealous Adventures; while I am rendred to them so fit to be destroyed, that many are ambitious to merit the name of my Destroyers; Imagining they then fear God most, when they least honour their King.

I thank God, I never found but my pitie was above mine anger, nor have my passions ever so prevailed against me, as to exclude my most compassionate Prayers for them, whom devout Errours more than their own malice have betrayed to a most religious Rebellion.

I

I had the Charity to interpret, that moſt part of my Subjects fought againſt my ſuppoſed Errours not my Perſon; and intended to Mend me, not to End me: And I hope that God pardoning their Errours, hath ſo farre accepted and anſwered their good intentions, that as he hath yet preſerved me, ſo he hath by theſe afflictions prepared me, both to do him better ſervice, and my People more good, than hitherto I have done.

I do not more willingly forgive their ſeductions, which occaſioned their loyall Injuries, than I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjuſt ſuſpicions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conſcious to mine own Affections toward the generalitie of my People, to ſuſpect theirs to me; nor ſhall the malice of mine Enemies ever be able to deprive me of the comfort which that confidence gives me: I ſhall never gratifie the ſpightfulneſſe of a few with any ſiniſter thoughts of all their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have ſeduced.

The worſt ſome mens Ambition can do, ſhall never perſwade me, to make ſo bad interpretations of moſt of my Subjects Actions; who poſsibly may be Erroneous, but not Hereticall in point of Loyalty.

The ſenſe of the Injuries done to my Subjects is ſharp, as ſome done to my ſelf; our welfares being inſeparable: in this onely they ſuffer more then my ſelf, that they are animated by ſome Seducers to injure at once both themſelves and Me.

For this is not enough to the malice of mine Enemies, that I be afflicted, but it muſt be done by ſuch Inſtruments, that mine afflictions grieve me not more then this doth,

doth, that I am afflicted by those whose prosperity I earnestly desire, and whose seduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been mine open and forreign Enemies, I could have born it: but they must be mine own Subjects, who are next to my Children, dear to me: And for the restoring of whose tranquility, I could willingly be the *Jonah* if I did not evidently fore-see, that by the divided interest of their and my Enemies, as by contrary Winds, the Storm of their Miseries would be rather increased then allayed.

I had rather prevent my Peoples ruin then Rule over them: nor am I so ambitious of that Dominion, which is but my Right, as of their happinesse; if it could expiate or countervail such a way of obtaining it, by the highest Injuries of Subjects committed against their Sovereign.

Yet I had rather suffer all the Miseries of life, and die many deaths, than shamefully to desert, or dishonourably to betray mine own just Rights and Sovereignty, thereby to gratifie the ambition or justifie the malice of mine Enemies: between whose malice, and other mens mistakes, I put as great a difference, as between an ordinary Ague and the Plague; or the Itch of Novelty, and the Leprosie of Disloyaltie.

As Liars need have good Memories, so Malicious persons need good Inventions; that their calumnies may fit every mans fancie, and what their reproches want of truth, they may make up with number and shew.

My patience (I thank God) will better serve Me to bear, and my charitie to forgive, than my leisure to answer the many false Aspersions which some men have cast upon me.

Did

Did I not more consider my Subjects Satisfaction, then mine own Vindication. I should never have given the malice of some men that pleasure, as to see me take notice of, or remember what they say or object.

I would leave the Authours to be punished by their own evill manners, and seared consciences, which will, I believe, in a shorter time than they be aware of, both confute and revenge all those black and false Scandals, which they have cast on Me; And make the World see, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broching of them, or civilitie, (I need not say Loyalty) in the not suppressing of them: whose credit and reputation even with the People, shall ere long be quite blasted by the breath of that fornace of popular obloquie, and detraction, which they have studied to heat and inflame to the highest degree of infamie, and wherein they have sought to cast and consume my Name and Honour.

First nothing gave me more cause to suspect, and search mine own Innocency, then when I observed so many forward to engage against Me, who had made great professions of singular piety: For this gave to vulgar minds so bad a reflection, upon me, and my Cause, as if it had been impossible to adhere to me, and not withall part from God: to think or speak well of me, and not to Blaspheme him: so many were perswaded that those two were utterly inconsistent to be at once Loyall to me, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) many with me, which were both Learned and Religious, (much above that ordinary size, and that vulgar proportion, wherein some men glory so much) who were so well satisfied in the

the cause of my sufferings, that they chose rather to suffer with me, then forsake me.

Nor is it strange that so Religious Pretensions as were used against me, should be to many well-minded men a great temptation to oppose me: Especially, being urged by such popular Preachers, as think it no sinne to lie for God, and what they please to call Gods Cause, cursing all that will not curse with them: looking so much at, and crying up the goodnesse of the end propounded, that they consider not the lawfulnesse of the means used, nor the depth of mischief, chiefly plotted and intended.

The weaknesse of these mens judgements must be made up by their clamours and activitie.

It was a great part of some mens Religion to scandalize me and mine: they thought theirs could not be true, if they cried not down mine as false.

I thank God I have had more triall of his Grace, as to the constancie of my Religion in the Protestant profession of the Church of *England*, both abroad and at home, than ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know any exception I am so liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixednesse in that Religion, whose judicious and solid grounds, both from Scripture, and Antiquity, will not give my Conscience leave to approve or consent to those many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold Ignorance of some men would needs obtrude upon me, and my People.

Contrary to those well tried foundations both of Truth, and Order, which men of far greater Learning, & clearer Zeal have setled in the Confession and Constitution of this Church

Church in *England*; which many former Parliaments in the moſt calm, and unpaſſionate times, have oft confirmed; In which I ſhall ever by Gods help perſevere, in believing it hath moſt of Primitive Truth in Order.

Nor did my uſing the aſsiſtance of ſome Papiſts, which were my Subjects, any way fight againſt my Religion, as ſome men would needs interpret it: eſpeciallly to thoſe who leaſt of all men cared whom they imployed or what they ſaid, and did, ſo they might prevail.

Tis ſtrange that ſo wiſe men, as they would be eſteemed, ſhould not conceive, that differences of perſwaſion in matters of Religion may eaſily fall out, where there is the ſameneſſe of Dutie, Allegiance, and Subjection. The firſt they ow as men, and Chriſtians to God; the ſecond, they ow to me in Common as their *King*; different profeſſions in point of Religion cannot (any more then in civil Trades take away the Communitie of relations either to Parents, or to Princes: And where is there ſuch an *Oglio* or medley of various Religions in the World again, as thoſe men entertain in their ſervice (who find moſt fault with me) without any ſcruple, as to the diverſitie of their Sects and Opinions?

It was indeed, a foul and indelible ſhame, for ſuch as would be counted Proteſtants, to inforce me, a declared Proteſtant, their Lord and King, to a neceſſarie uſe of Papiſts, or any other, who did but their dutie to help me to defend my ſelf.

Nor did I more then is lawfull for any King, in ſuch exigents, to uſe the aid of any his Subjects.

I am ſorry the Papiſts ſhould have a greater ſenſe of their Allegiance, then many Proteſtants

Protestant Professours; who seem to have learned, and to practise the worst Principles of the worst Papists.

Indeed, it had been a very impertinent and unseasonable scruple in me, (and very pleasing no doubt to my enemies) to have been then disputing the points of different beliefs in my Subjects, when I was disputed with by Swords points: and when I needed the help of my Subjects as men, no lesse then their prayers as Christians.

The noise of my Evil Counsellours was another usefull device for those, who were impatient any mens counsels but their own, should be followed in Church or State; who were so eager in giving me better counsel, that they would not give me leave to take it with freedom, as a Man; or Honour as a King: making their counsels more like a drench that must be powred down, then a draught which might be fairly and leisurely drank, if I liked it.

I will not justifie beyond humane errours and frailties my self, or my Counsellours, They might be subject to some miscarriages, yet such as were far more repairable by second and better thoughts, then those enormious extravagancies, wherewith some men have now even wildred, and almost quite lost both Church and State.

The event of things at last will make it evident to my Subjects, that had I followed the worst Counsels, that my worst Counsellours ever had the boldnesse to offer me, or my self any inclination to use, I could not so soon have brought both Church and State in three flourishing Kingdoms, to such a *Chaos* of confusions, and hell of miseries as some have done: out of which they cannot, or will not, in the midst of their many great advantages, redeem either me or my Subjects

No

No men were more willing to complain, then I was to redresse what I saw in Reason to be either done or advised amisse; and this I thought I had done, even beyond the expectation of moderate men: who were sorrie to see me prone even to injure my self, out of a Zeal to relieve my Subjects.

But other mens insatiable desire of revenge upon me, my Court, and my Clergie, hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all my, either Retractions, or Concessions; and withall, hath deprived all those (now so zealous Persecutours) both of the comfort and reward of their former pretended persecutions, wherein they so much gloried among the vulgar; and which indeed, a truly humble Christian will so highly prize, as rather not to be relieved, then be revenged, so as to be bereaved of that Crown of Christian patience, which attends humble and injured sufferers.

Another artifice used to withdraw my peoples affections from me, to their designs was, the noise and ostentation of Libertie, which men are not more prone to desire, then unapt to beer in the popular sense; which is to do what every man liketh best.

If the Divinest Libertie be to will what men should, and to do what they so will, according to Reason, Laws, and Religion, I envie not my Subjects that Libertie, which is all I desire to injoy my self; so far am I from the desire of oppressing theirs: Nor were those Lords and Gentle-men which assisted me so prodigall of their Liberties, as with their Lives and Fortunes, to help on the inslaving of themselves and their Posteritie.

As to Civil Immunities, none but such as

desire to drive on their ambitious and covetous designs over the ruins of Church and State, Prince, Peers, and People, will ever desire greater freedoms then the Laws allow; whose bounds good men count their Ornament and Protection; others their Manacles and Oppression.

Nor is it just any man should expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who despiseth its rule and direction; losing justly his Safetie while he seeks an unreasonable Libertie.

Time will best inform my Subjects, that those are the best preservers of their true Libertie, who allow themselves the least licentiousnesse against, or beyond the Laws.

They will feel it at the last to their cost, That it is impossible those men should be really tender of their fellow-subjects Liberties, who have the hardnesse to use their King with so severe restraints; against all Laws, both Divine and Humane; under which, yet, I will rather perish then complain to those, who want nothing to compleat their mirth and triumph, but such musick.

In point of true conscientious tendernesse (attended with humilitie and meeknesse, not with proud and arrogant activitie, which seeks to hatch every egge of different opinion to a Faction or Shcisme) I have oft declared, how little I desire my Laws and Scepter should intrench on Gods Sovereigntie, which is the onely King of mens consciences: and yet he hath laid such restraints upon men, as commands them to be subject for Conscience sake, giving no men libertie to break the Law established, further then with meeknesse and patience they are content to suffer the penaltie annexed, rather then perturb the publick Peace.

The

The truth is, some mens thirst after Novelties, others despair to releive the necessities of their Fortunes, or satisfie their Ambition, in peaceable times, (distrusting Gods providence, as well as their own merits) were the secret (but principall) impulsives to these popular Commotions, by which Subjects have been perswaded to expend much of those plentifull estates they got, and enjoyed under my Government, in peaceable times; which yet must now be blasted with all the odious reproches, which impotent malice can invent; and my self exposed to all those contempts which may most diminish the Majestie of a King, and increase the ungratefull insolencies of my People.

For mine Honour, I am well assured, that as mine innocencie is clear before God, in point of any calumnies they object; so my Reputation shall, like the Sun (after owls and Bats have had their freedom in the night and darker times) rise and recover it self to such a degree of splendor, as those feral birds shall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear.

For never were any Princes more glorious, then those whom God hath suffered to be tried in the fornace of afflictions by their injurious Subjects.

And who knows but the just and mercifull God will do me good, for some mens hard, false, and evil speeches against me; wherein they speak rather what they wish, then what they believe or know.

Nor can I suffer so much in point of Honour, by those rude and scandalous Pamphlets (which like fire in great conflagrations fire up and down to set all places on like flames) then those men do, who pretending to so much pietie, are so forgetfull of their

Dutie to God and Me: By no way ever vi
dicating the Majestie of their KING
gainst any of those, who contrary to the pr
cept of God, and holy Angels, *speak evil*
Dignities, and bring railing accusations again
those who are honoured with the name
Gods.

But 'tis no wonder if men not fearin
GOD, should not honour their *King.*

They will easily contemn such shadows
God, who reverence not that Supreme an
adorable Majestie, in comparison of whom, t
the glorie of Men and Angels is but obscur
tie; yet hath he graven such Characters
divine Authoritie, and sacred Power upo
Kings, as none may without sin seek to blo
them out. Nor shall their black vails be abl
to hide the shining of my face, while Go
gives me an heart frequently and humbly to
converse with him, from whom alone ar
all the irradiations of true Glorie and
Majestie.

THOU O Lord, knowest my reproch, and
my dishonour, mine Adversaries are all be
fore thee.

My soul is among lions, among them that
are set on fire, even the sons of men; whose
teeth are spears and arrows; their tongue a
sharp sword.

Mine Enemies reproach me all the day
long, and those that are mad against me a
sworn together.

O my God, how long shall the sons of
men turn my glorie into shame? how long
shall they love vanitie and seek after
lies?

Thou hast heard the reproches of wicked
men on every side. Hold not thy peace, le
mine Enemies prevail against me: and lay
mine Honour in the dust.

Thou

Thou, O Lord, shalt destroy them that speak lies: the Lord will abhor both blood-thirstie, and deceitfull men.

Make my righteousnesse to appear as the light, and mine innocencie to shine forth as the Sun at noon-day.

Suffer not my silence to betray mine innocence, nor my displeasure, my patience; That after my Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile again; and being cursed by them, I may blesse them.

Thou that wouldest not suffer *Shimeis* tongue to go unpunished; when by thy judgements on *David* he might seem to justifie his disdainfull reproaches, give me grace to intercede with thy mercy for these mine Enemies, that the reward of false and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternal fire may not be brought upon them.

Let my praiers, and patience be as water to cool and quench their tongues, who are already set on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with those malicious flames.

Let me be happy to refute, and put to silence their evil speaking by well-doing; and let them enjoy not the fruit of their lips, but of my praier for their repentance, and thy pardon.

Teach me *David's* patience, and *Hezekiahs* devotion, that I may look to thy mercy through mans malice, and see thy justice in their sins.

Let *Shebahs* seditious speeches, *Rabshekahs* railing, and *Shimeis* cursing, provoke as my humble prayer to thee, so thy renewed blessing toward me.

Though they curse, do thou blesse, and I shall be blessed; and made a blessing to my People.

That the stone which some builders refuse, may become the head stone of the corner.

Look down from heaven, and save me, from the reproach of them that would swallow me up.

Hide me in the secret of thy presence, from the pride of man, and keep me from the strife of tongues.

16 *Upon the Ordinance against the Common-Prayer-Book.*

IT is no news to have all Innovations ushered in with the name of Reformations in Church and State, by those, who seeking to gain reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinary parts, and piety, must needs undo whatever was formerly setled never so well and wisely.

So hardly can the pride of those that studie Novelties, allow former times any share or degree of wisdom or godlinesse.

And because matter of Prayer and Devotion to God justly bears a great part in Religion, (being the Souls more immediate converse with the Divine Majesty) nothing could be more plausible to the People then to tell them, They served God amisse in that point.

Hence our Publike Liturgy, or Forms of constant Prayers must be, not amended, in what upon free and publike advise might seem to sober men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which I should easily consent, but, wholly cashiered, and abolished, and after many popular contempts offered to the Book, and those that used it according to their Consciences, and the Laws in force, It must be crucified by an Ordinance, the better to please either those men, who gloried in their extemporary vein and fluency: or others, who conscious to their own formality in the use of it, thought they fully expiated their sin of not using it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a total rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuse the deadnesse of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Book, sober and learned men have sufficiently vindicated it against the cavils and exceptions of those, who thought it a part of piety to make what profane objections they could against it; especially for Popery and Superstition; whereas no doubt the Liturgy was exactly conformed to the Doctrine of

of the Church of *England*; and this by all Reformed Churches is confeſſed to be moſt ſound and Orthodox.

For the manner of uſing Set and Preſcribed Forms, there is no doubt but that wholeſom words being known and fitted to mens underſtandings, are ſooneſt received into their hearts, and apteſt to excite and carry along with them judicious and fervent Actions.

Nor do I ſee any reaſon why Chriſtians ſhould be weary of a well-compoſed Liturgie (as I hold this to be) more then of all other things, wherein the Conſtancy abates nothing of the Excellency and uſefulneſſe.

I could never ſee any reaſon, why any Chriſtian ſhould abhor, or be forbidden to uſe the ſame Form of Prayer, ſince he praies to the ſame God, beleeves in the ſame Saviour, profeſſeth the ſame Truths, reads the ſame Scriptures, hath the ſame Duties upon him, and feels the ſame daily Wants for the moſt part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure we may as well before-hand know what we pray, as to whom we pray; and in what words, as to what ſenſe: when we deſire the ſame things, what hinders we may not uſe the ſame words? Our appetite and digeſtion too may be good, when we uſe, as we pray for, *Our daily bread.*

Some men, I hear are ſo impatient not to uſe in all their Devotions their own invention, and gifts, that they not onely diſuſe (as too many) but wholly caſt away and contemne the *Lords Prayer*; whoſe great guilt is, that it is the Warrant and original Patern of all ſet Liturgies, in the Chriſtian Church.

I ever thought that the proud oſtentation of mens abilities for invention, and the vain affectations of variety for expreſſions in publick Prayer, or any ſacred Adminiſtrations, merits a greater head of ſin, then that which they call coldneſſe and barrenneſſe; nor are men in thoſe Novelties

leſſe ſubject to formal and ſuperficial tempers (as to their hearts) then in the uſe of conſtant Forms, where not the words, but mens hearts are too blame. I make no doubt but a man may be very formal in the moſt extemporary variety; and very fervently devout in the moſt wonted Expreſſions: Nor is God more a God of variety, then of conſtancy: Nor are conſtant Forms of Prayers more likely to flat, and hinder the Spirit of Prayer, and Devotion, then unpremeditated and confuſed variety to diſtract, and loſe it.

Though I am not againſt a grave, modeſt, diſcreet and humble uſe of Miniſters gifts, even in publick, the better to fit, and excite their own and the Peoples affections to the preſent occaſions: yet I know no neceſſity why private and ſingle abilities ſhould quite juſtle out and deprive the Church of the joynt abilities and concurrent gifts of many learned and godly men, ſuch as the Compoſers of the Service Book were; who may in all reaſon be thought to have more of gifts and graces enabling to compoſe with ſerious deliberation and concurrent advice, ſuch Forms of Prayers, as may beſt fit the Churches common wants, inform the Hearers underſtanding, and ſtir up that fiduciary and fervent application of their ſpirits (wherein conſiſts the very Life and Soul of Prayer, and that ſo much pretended Spirit of Prayer) then any private man by his ſolitary abilities can be preſumed to have; which, what they are many times (even there, where they make a great noiſe and ſhew) the affections, emptineſſe, impertinency, rudeneſſe, confuſion, flatneſſe, levity, obſcurity, vain, and ridiculous repetitions, the ſenſeleſſe, and oft-times blaſphemous Expreſſions; all theſe burthened with a moſt tedious and intolerable length do ſufficiently convince all men but thoſe who glory in that Phariſaick-way.

Wherein men muſt be ſtrangely impudent and flatterers of themſelves, not to have an infinite ſhame of what they ſo do and ſay, in things of ſo

ſacred

sacred a nature before God and the Church, after so ridiculous, and indeed, profane a manner.

Nor can it be expected, but that in duties of frequent performance, as Sacramental Administrations, and the like, which are still the same; Ministers must either come to use their own Forms constantly, which are not like to be so sound, or comprehensive of the nature of the Dutie, as Forms of publick composure; or else they must every time affect new Expressions when the Subject is the same; which can hardly be presumed in any mans greatest sufficiencies not to want (many times) much of that compleatnesse, or order, and gravity, becoming those Duties; which by this means at every celebration to every Ministers private infirmities, indispositions, errours, disorders, and defects, both for judgement and expression.

A serious sense of which inconvenience in the Church unavoidably following every mans several manner of officiating, no doubt first occasioned the wisdom and piety of the ancient Churches, to remedy those mischiefs, by the use of constant Liturgies of publick composure.

The want of which, I beleeve this Church will sufficiently feel, when the unhappy fruits of many mens ungoverned ignorance and confident defects, shall be discovered in more errours, schisms, disorders, and uncharitable Distractions in Religion, which are already but too many, the more is the pitie.

However, if violence must needs bring in, and abet those Innovations, (that men may not seem to have nothing to do) which Law, Reason, and Religion forbids, at least to be so obtruded, as wholly to justle out the publick Liturgie.

Yet nothing can excuse that most unjust and partial severity of those men, who either lately had subscribed to, used and maintained the Service Book, or refused to use it, cried out of the rigour of Laws of Bishops, which suffered them not to use the Liberty of their Conscience, in not using it.

That these men, I say, should so suddenly change the Liturgy into a Directory, as if the Spirit needed help for invention though not for expressions; or as if matter prescribed did not as much stint and obstruct the Spirit, as if it were clothed in, and confined to, fit words: (So slight and easie is that Legerdemain which will serve to delude the vulgar.)

That further, they should use such severity as not to suffer without penalty, any to use the Common Prayer Book publickly, although their Consciences binde them to it, as a Duty of Piety to God, and obedience to the Laws. Thus I see no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorous Actors upon others to conform to their illegal Novelries, then such, whose pride was formerly least disposed to the obedience of Lawful Constitutions; and whose licentious humour most pretended conscientious Liberties, which Freedom, with much regret they now allow to me, and my Chaplains, when they may have leave to serve me, whose abilities, even in their extemporary way comes not short of the others, but their modesty and learning far exceeds the most of them.

But this matter is of so popular a nature, as some men knew it would not bear learned and sober Debates, lest being convinced by the evidence of Reason, as well as Laws, they should have been driven either to sin more against their knowledge, by taking away the Liturgy; or to displease some Faction of the People by continuing the use of it.

Though I beleeve they have offended more considerable men, not onely for their numbers and estates, but for their weighty and judicious piety, then those are, whose weaknesse or giddinesse they sought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greatest faults some men found with the Common-Prayer Book, I beleeve was this, That it taught them to pray so oft for me; for which Petitions they had not Loyalty enough to say, Amen; nor yet Charity enough to forbear

bear Reproaches, and even Curſing of me in their own Forms in ſtead of Praying for me.

I wiſh their Repentance may be their onely puniſhment; that, ſeeing the Miſchiefs which diſuſe of publick Liturgies hath already produced, they may reſtore that credit, uſe, and reverence to them, which by the ancient Churches, were given to ſet Forms of ſound and wholſome words.

AND thou, O Lord, which art the ſame God, bleſſed for ever: whoſe mercies are full of variety, and yet of conſtancy: thou denieſt us not a new and freſh ſence of our old and daily wants: nor deſpiſeſt renewed affections joyned to conſtant expreſſions.

Let us not want the benefits of thy Churches united and well adviſed Devotions.

Let the matter of our Prayers be agreable to thy will, which is alwayes the ſame, and the fervency of our ſpirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit in us;

And then we doubt not but thy ſpiritual perfections are ſuch, as thou art neither to be pleaſed with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious Conſtancie of our Petitions in them both.

Whoſe variety or conſtancy thou haſt no where either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the piety and prudence of thy Church, that both may be uſed, neither deſpiſed.

Keep men in that pious moderation of their judgements in matters of Religion; that their ignorance may not offend others, nor the opinion of their own abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly uſe, to help their infirmities.

And ſince the advantage of Errours conſiſts in novelty and variety, as Truths in unity and conſtancy: Suffer not thy Church to be peſtered with Errours, and deformed with undecencies in thy ſervice, under the pretence of variety and novelties. Nor to be deprived of truth, unity and

order, under this fallacy, that constancie is the cause of formalitie.

Lord keep us from formal hypocrisie in our own hearts, and then we know that praying to thee, or praising of thee with *David* (and other holy men) in the same form cannot hurt us.

Give us wisdom to amend what is amisse within us, and there will be lesse to amend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blinde zeal, and over-bold devotion.

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17 *Of the Differences between the* King *and the two Houses in point of Church-Government.*

TOuching Government of the Church by Bishops, the common jealousie hath been, that I am earnest and resolute to maintain it, not so much out of Piety as Policie, and reason of State.

Wherein so far indeed reason of State doth induce me to approve that Government above any other, as I finde it impossible for a Prince to preserve the State in quiet, unlesse he hath such a dependance on him, as may best restrain the seditious exorbitancies of Ministers tongues; who with the Keyes of Heaven have so far the Keyes of the Peoples hearts, as they prevail much by the Oratorie to let in, or shut out both Peace and Loyaltie.

So that being (as KING) intrusted by God and the Laws, with the good both of Church and State; I see no Reason I should give up, or weaken by any change, that power and influence which in right and reason I ought to have over both.

The moving Bishops out of the House of Peers (of which I have elsewhere given an account) was sufficient to take off any suspicion, that I encline to them for any use to be made of

of their Votes in State affairs: Though indeed I never thought any Bishop worthie to sit in that House, who would not Vote according to his Conscience.

I must now in Charitie be thought desirous to preserve that Government in its right constitution, as a matter of Religion; wherein both my Judgement is fully satisfied, that it hath of all other the fullest Scripture-grounds, and also the constant practise of all Christian Churches; till of late years, the tumultuarinesse of People, or the factiousnesse and pride of Presbyters, or the covetousnesse of some States and Princes, gave occasion to some mens wits to invent new models, and proposed them under specious titles of *Christs Government, Scepter, and Kingdom*; the better to serve their turns, to whom the change was beneficial.

They must give me leave having none of their temptations to invite me to alter the Government of Bishops (that I may have a title to their Estates) not to believe their pretended grounds to any new males contrarie to the full, and constant testimonie of all Histories, sufficiently convincing unbiased men; that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly Governed by the Apostles and their immediate Successours the first and best Bishops; so it cannot in reason or charitie be supposed that all Churches in the world should either be ignorant of the rule by them prescribed, or so soon deviate from their Divine and holy Pattern: That since the first Age, for 1500 years not one example can be produced of any setled Church wherein were many Ministers and Congregations, which had not some Bishops above them under whose Juridiction and Government they were.

Whose constant and universal practice agreeing with so large, and evident Scripture directions and examples, as are set down in the Epistles to *Timothy*, and *Titus*, for the setling of that Government, not in the persons onely of *Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the succession; (the want of Ge-

vernment being that, which the Church can no more diſpence with, in point of well being, then the want of the Word and Sacraments in point of being.)

I wonder how men came to look with ſo envious an eye upon Biſhops power and authority, as to overſee both the Eccleſiaſtical uſe of them, and Apoſtolical conſtitution: which to me ſeems no leſſe evidently ſet forth as to the main ſcope and deſign of thoſe epiſtles, for the ſetling of a peculiar Office, Power, and Authority in them as Preſident, Biſhops above others in point of Ordination, Cenſures, and other Acts of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, then thoſe ſhorter characters of the qualities and duties of Preſbyters, Biſhops and Deacons are deſcribed in ſome parts of the ſame Epiſtles: who in the latitude and community of the name were then, and may now not improperly be called *Biſhops*; as to the over-ſight and care of ſingle Congregations, committed to them by the Apoſtles or thoſe Apoſtolical Biſhops, who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*) ſucceeded them in that ordinary power, there aſſigned over larger diviſions, in which were many Preſbyters.

The humility of thoſe firſt Biſhops avoiding the eminent title of Apoſtles as a name in the Churches ſtile apropriated from its common notion (*of a Meſſenger, or one ſent*) to that ſpecial dignity which had extraordinary call, miſſion, gifts, and power immediatly from Chriſt: they contented themſelves with the ordinary titles of Biſhops and Preſbyters, until uſe, the great arbitrator of words, and Maſter of language, finding reaſon to diſtinguiſh by a peculiar name thoſe perſons, whoſe power and office indeed were diſtinct from and above all other in the Church, as ſucceeding the Apoſtles in the ordinary and conſtant power of Governing the Churches, the Honour of (whoſe name they modeſtly, yet commendably declined) all Chriſtian Churches ſubmitting to that ſpecial authority, appropriated alſo the name of *Biſhop*, without any ſuſpition or reproach of arrogancy, to thoſe, who were by Apoſtoli-

ſtolicall propagation rightly deſcended and inveſted into that higheſt and largeſt power of Governing even the moſt pure and primitive Churches: which without all doubt had many ſuch holy Biſhops, after the pattern of *Timothy* and *Titus*; whoſe ſpecial power is not more clearly ſet down in thoſe Epiſtles (the chief grounds and limits of all Epiſcopal claim, as from Divine right) then are the characters of theſe perilous times and thoſe men that make them ſuch; who not enduring ſound doctrine, and cleare teſtimonies of all Churches practiſe, are moſt perverſe Diſputers and proud Uſurpers, againſt true Epiſcopacy: who, if they be not Traytours and boaſters, yet they ſeem to be very covetous, heady, high-minded, inordinate and fierce, lovers of themſelves, having much of the form, little of the power of Godlineſſe.

Who by popular heapes of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, ſeek to overlay and ſmother the pregnancy and authority of that power of Epiſcopal Government, which, beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacy of names, is moſt convincingly ſet forth, both by Scripture, and all after Hiſtories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine then a Prince that Poſterity may ſee (if ever theſe Papers be publiſh) that I had faire grounds both from Scripture Canons, and Eccleſiaſticall examples, whereon my judgement was ſtated for Epiſcopal Government.

Nor was it any policie of State, or obſtinacie of will, or partiality of affection, either to the men or their Function which fixed me: who cannot in point of worldly reſpects be ſo conſiderable to me as to recompence the injuries and loſſes, I, and my deareſt Relations with my kingdomes, have ſuſtained, and hazarded, chiefly at firſt upon this quarrel.

And not onely in Religion, of which Scripture is the beſt Rule, and the Churches Univerſal practiſe the beſt Commentarie: but alſo in right reaſon, and the true nature of government, it cannot

be thought that an orderly Subordination among Presbyters, or Ministers, should be any more against Christianitie, then it is in all secular and civil Governments, where paritie breeds Confusion and Faction.

I can no more believe, that such order is inconsistent with true Religion then good features are with beautie, or numbers with harmonie.

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed several orders, and a Prelacie, in the Government of his Church, among the Jewish Priests, should abhor or forbid them among Christian Ministers, who have as much of the Principles of schisme and division as other men; for preventing and suppressing of which, the Apostolicall wisdom (which was divine) after that Christians were multiplied to many Congregations and Presbyters with them, appointed this way of Government, which might best preserve Order and Union with Authority.

So that I conceive it was not the favour of Princes, or ambition of presbyters, but the wisdom and pietie of the Apostles, that first settled Bishops in the Church; which authoritie they constantly used and enjoyed in those times, which were purest for Religion, though sharpest for Persecution.

Not that I am against the managing of this Presidencie and Authority in one man, by the joynt counsel and consent of many Presbyters: I have offered to restore that, as a fit means to avoid those errours, corruptions, and partialities, which are incident to any one man; also to avoid Tyranny, which becomes no Christians, least of all Church men; besides, it will be a means to take away that burden, and *odium* of affaires, which may lie too heavie on one mans shoulders, as indeed I think it formerly did on the Bishops here.

Nor can I see what can be more agreeable both to Reason and Religion, then such a frame of Goverment which is Paternal, not Magisterial; and wherein not only the necessitie of avoiding Faction

ction and Confusion, Emulations and contempts which are prone to arise among equals in powe and function: but also the differences of some Ministers gifts and aptitudes for Goverment above others, doth invite to imploy them, in reference to those abilities, wherein they are eminent.

Nor is this judgement of mine touching Episcopacie, any preoccupation of opinion, which will not admit any oppositions against it: It is well known I have endeavoured to satisfie my self in what the chief Patrons for other wayes can say against this, or for theirs: And I finde they have, as far lesse of Scripture-grounds, and of Reason; so for examples, and practise of the Church, or testimonies of Histories, they are wholly destitute wherein the whole stream runs so for Episcopacy, that there is not the least rivulet for any others.

As for those obtruded examples of some late Reformed Churches (for many retain Bishops still) whom necessitie of times and affaires rather excuseth then commendeth for their inconformity to all Antiquity; I could never see any reason why Churches orderly reformed and Governed by Bishops, should be forced to conform to those few, rather then to the Catholick example of all ancient Churches, which needed no Reformation? And to those Churches at this pay, who Governed by Bishops in all the Christian world, are many more then Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to be: all whom the Churches in my three Kingdomes lately Governed by Bishops, would equalize, I think, if not exceed.

Nor is it any point of wisdom or charity, where Christians differ, (as many do in some points) there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Christian world (except a handfull of some Protestants) so great a scandall in point of Church Government; whom, though you may convince of their Errours in some points of Doctrin, yet you shall never perswade them, that to compleat their Reformation, they must necessarily desert, and wholly cast off that form of Government, which they, and all before them have

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ever owned as Catholick, Primitive, and Apoſtolicall: So far, that never Schiſmaticks, nor Hereticks (except thoſe Arians) have ſtrayed from the Unity and Conformitie of the Church in that point, ever having Biſhops, above Preſbyters.

Beſides, the late general approbation and ſubmiſſion to this Goverment of Biſhops, by the Clergie, as well as the Laity of theſe kingdoms, is a great confirmation of my Judgement; and their inconſtancie is a great prejudice againſt their novelitie: I cannot in charitie ſo far doubt of their learning or integritie, as if they underſtood not what heertofore they did; or that they did Conform contrarie to their Conſciences; ſo that their facilitie and levitie is never to be excuſed, who, before ever the point of Church Government had any face and impartial debate, contrarie to their former Oathes and practice, againſt their obedience to the Laws in force, and againſt my conſent, have not onely, quite cried down the Government by Biſhops; but have approved and incouraged the violent and moſt illegal ſtripping all the Biſhops; and many other Church-men, of all their due Authoritie and Revenues, even to the ſelling away, and utter alienation of thoſe Church-lands from any Eccleſiaſticall uſes: So great a power hath the ſtream of times, and the prevalency of parties over ſome mens judgements; of whoſe ſo ſudden and ſo totall change, little reaſon can begiven, beſides the *Scots* Army coming into *England*.

But the folly of theſe men will at laſt puniſh it ſelf, and the deſertours of Epiſcopacie will appear the greateſt enemies to, and betrayers of their own intereſt: For Preſbyterie is never ſo conſiderable or effectual, as when it is joyned to, and crowned with Epiſcopacy. all Miniſters will finde as great a difference in point of thriving, between the favour of the People and Princes, as Plants do between being watered by hand, or by the ſweet and liberal dews of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clergy-men will ſoon let them ſee, what a poor carcaſe they

are,

are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whose Supremacy they have been sworn.

A little moderation might have prevented great mischiefs; I am firm to Primitive Episcopacy not to have it extirpated (if I can hinder it) Discretion without passion might easily reform, what ever the rust of times, or indulgence of Laws, or corruption of manners have brought upon it. It being a grosse vulgar errour to impute to, or revenge upon the Function, the faults of times of persons; which seditious and populir principle, and practise all wisemen abhor.

For those secular additaments and ornaments of Authority, Civil Honour and Estate, which my Predecessors, and Christian Princes in all Countreys have annexed to Bishops and Churchmen; I look upon them, but as just rewards of their learning, and piety, who are fit to be in any degree of Church-Goverment; also enablements to works of Charity, and Hospitality, meer strengthenings of their Authority in point of respect, and observance, which in Peacefull times is hardly payed to any Governours by the measure of their vertues, so much as by that of their Estates; Poverty and meanesse exposing them and their Authority to the contempt of licentious minds and manners, , which persecuting times much restrained.

I would have such men Bishops, as are most worthy of those incouragements, and be ablest to use them: if at any time my Judgement of men failed, my good intention made my errour venial: And some Bishops, I am sure, I had, whose learning, gravity, and piety, no men of any worth or forehead can deny: But, of all men I would have Church-men, especially the Governours, to be redeemed from that vulgar neglect which, (besides an innate principle of vitious oppositon, which is in all men against those that seem to reprove, or restrain them) will necessarily follow both the Presbyterian party, which makes all Ministers equal; and the Independent in-

Inferioritie, Which sets their Pastors below the People.

This for my Judgement touching Episcopacy: wherein God knows, I do not gratifie any designe or passion with the least perverting of Truth.

And now I appeal to God above, and all the Christian world, whether it be just for Subjects, or pious for Christians, by violence, and infinite indignities, with servile restraints to seek to force me their KING and Sovereign, as some men have indeavored to do, against all these grounds of my Judgement, to consent to their weak and divided Novelties. The greatest Pretender of them desires not more then I do, That the Church should be Governed as Christ hath appointed in true Reason, and in Scripture; of which, I could never see any probable shew but one other wayes: who either content themselves with the examples of some Churches in their infancy and solitude: when one Presbyter might serve one congregation, in a Citie or countrey; or else they denie these most evident Truths, That the Apostles were Bishops over those Presbyters they ordained, as well as over the Churches they planted: and that, Government being necessary for the Churches wel-being, when multiplied and sociated, must also necessarily descend from the Apostles to others, after the example of that power and superioritie, they had above others; which could not end with their persons; since the use and ends of such Government still continue.

It is most sure, that the purest Primitive and best Churches flourished under Episcopacy; and may so still, if ignorance, superstition, avarice, revenge, and other disorderly and disloyal passions had not so blown up some mens minds against it, that what they want of Reasons or primitive Patterns, they supply with violence and oppression; wherein some mens zeal for Bishops Lands, Houses, and Revenues, hath set them on work to eat up Episcopacy: which (however other men esteem) to me is no lesse sin, then Sacrilege, or

or a robberie of God (the giver of all we have) of that portion which devout mindes have thankfully given again to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets; through whose hands he graciously accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himself.

Furthermore, as to my particular engagement above other men, by an oath agreable to my judgement, I am solemnly obliged to preserve that Government and the rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulnesse of the Function, as Antichristian: (which some men boldly, but weakly calumniate) I could soon with judgement break that Oath, which erroneously was taken by me.

But being daily by the best disquisition of truth, more confirmed in the Reason and Religion of that to which I am sworn: How can any man that wisheth not my damnation, perswade me at once to so notorious and combined sins, of Sacriledge and Perjurie? besides the many personal Injustices I must do to many worthy men, who are as legally invested in their Estates, as any who seek to deprive them: and they have by no Law been convicted of those crimes which might forfeit their Estates and Livelyhoods.

I have often wondred how men pretending to tenderneſſe of Conſcience, and Reformation, can at once tell me, that my Coronation-Oath binds me to consent to whatsoever they shall propound to me, (which they urge with such violence) though contrary to all that Rational and Religious Freedom which every man ought to preserve; and of which they seem so tender in their own Votes; yet at the same time these men will needs perswade me, That I must, and ought to dispense with, and roundly break that part of my Oath, which bindes me (agreable to the best light of Reason and Religion I have) to maintain the Government and legal Rights of the Church. Tis strange my Oath should be void in that part, which both my self, and all men in their own case, esteem injurious and un-

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reasonable, as being against the very naturall and essential liberty of our souls: yet it should be invalid, and to be broken in another clause, wherein I think my self justly obliged, both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held so long, by some mens ambitious Covetousnesse, and Sacrilegious cruelty; torturing, with me, both Church and State, in civil dissensions; till I shall be forced, to consent, and declare that I do approve, what (God knowes) I utterly dislike, and in my soul abhor; as many wayes highly against Reason, Justice and Religion; and whereto if I should shamefully and dishonourably give my consent, yet should I not by so doing, satisfie the the divided interest and Opinions of those Parties, which contend with each other, as well as both against me and Episcopacy.

Nor can my late condescending to the Scots in point of Church-Government be rightly objected against me, as an inducement for me to consent to the like in my other Kingdoms: For it should be considered, that Episcopacy was not so rooted and setled there, as tis here; nor I (in that respect) so strictly bound to continue it in that kingdom as in this; for, what I think in my judgement best, I may not think so absolutely necessary for all places, and all times.

If any shall impute my yielding to them, as my failing and sin, I can easily acknowledge it; but that is no argument to do so again, or much worse I being now more convinced in that point: Nor indeed hath my yeelding to them been so happy and successefull as to encourage me to grant the the like with others.

Did I see any thing more of Christ, as to Meeknesse, Justice, Order, Charity, and Loyalty in those that pretend to other *modes* of Government, I might suspect my judgement to be biassed, or fore stalled with some prejudice and wontednesse of opinion; but I have hitherto so much cause to suspect the contrary in the manners of those men, that I cannot from them

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gain the least reputation for their new wayes of Government.

Nor can I finde that in any Reformed Churches (whose patterns are so cried up, and obtruded upon the Churches under my Dominion) either Learning, or Religion, works of Piety or Charity, have so flourished, beyond what they have done in my Kingdoms, by Gods blessing, which might make me believe either Presbytery or Independency have a more benign influence upon the Church and mens hearts and lives, then Episcopacy in its right constitution.

The abuses of which deserve to be extirpated, as much as the use retained: for I think it far better to hold to Primitive and uniform Antiquity, then to comply with divided Novelty.

A right Episcopacy will at once satisfie all just desires and interests of good Bishops, humble Presbyters, and sober People; so as Church affairs should be managed neither with tyranny, parity, nor popularity; neither Bishops ejected, nor Presbyters despised, nor People oppressed.

And in this integrity both of my Judgement and Conscience I hope God will preserve me.

FOr thou, O Lord, knowest my uprightnesse, and tenderneſſe: as thou hast set me to be a Defender of the Faith, and a Protectour of thy Church, so suffer me not, by any violence, to be overthrown against my Conscience.

Arise, O Lord, maintain thine own Cause; let not thy Church be deformed, as to that Government, which, derived from thy Apostles, hath been retained in purest and Primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of secular Envie; which, seeks to rob it of all the incouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make me, as the good Samaritane, compassionate, and helpful to thy afflicted Church, which some men have wounded and robbed, others passe by without regard, either to pity or relieve.

As my power is from thee, so give me grace to use it for thee.

And.

And though I am not suffered to be Maste my other Rights as a KING, yet preserve in that liberty of Reason, love of Religion, thy Churches welfare, which are fixed in my conscience as a Christian.

Preserve, from Sacrilegious invasions, the temporal blessings, which thy providence has bestowed on thy Church for thy glory.

Forgive their sins and errours, who have deserved thy just permission, thus to let in the wild Boar and subtil Foxes, to waste and deform thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted and the dew of heaven so long watered to a happy and flourishing estate.

O let me not bear the infamous brand to all Posterity of being the first Christian KING in this kingdom, who should consent to the oppression of thy Church, and the Fathers of it; whose errours I would rather, with *Constantine*, cover with silence, and reform with meekness, then expose their persons and sacred Functions to vulgar contempts.

Thou, O Lord, seest how much I have suffered with and for thy Church: make no long tarrying O my God, to deliver both me, and it, from unreasonable men, whose counsels have brought forth and continue such violent confusions, by a precipitant destroying the ancient boundaries of the Churches Peace, thereby letting in all manner of errours, schisms, and disorders.

O thou God of Order, and of Truth, in thy good time abate the malice, asswage the rage, and confound all the mischievous devices of thine, mine, and thy Churches enemies.

That I, and all that love thy Church, may sing praises to thee, and ever magnifie thy Salvation even before the sons of men.

18 *Upon* Uxbridge-*Treaty, and other offers made by the* KING.

I Look upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beasts, to arguing like men; whose strength will be more in their understandings, then in their limbs.

And though I could seldom get opportunites to Treat, yet I never wanted either desire or disposition to it: having greater confidence of my Reason, then my Sword: I was so wholly resolved to yeild to the first, that I thought neither my self, nor others should need to use the second, once we rightly understood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of me, to prevent them with expresses of my desires, and even opportunities to Treat: It being an office, not onely of humanity, rather to use Reason then Force, but also of Christianity to seek Peace, and ensue it.

As I am very unwillingly compelled to defend my self with Arms, so I very willingly embraced any thing tending to Peace.

The events of all War by the Sword being very dubious, and of a Civil War uncomfortable; the end hardly recompencing and late repairing the mischief of the means.

Nor did any successe I had, ever enhaunce with me the price of Peace, as earnestly desired by me as any man; though I was like to pay dearer for it then any man: All that I sought to reserve was mine Honour, and my Conscience, the one I could not part with as a KING, the other as a Christian.

The Treaty at *Vxbridge* gave the faireſt hopes of an happy composure; had others applyed themselves to it with the same moderation I did, I am confident the War had then ended.

I was willing to condescend as far as Reason, Honour, and Conscience would give me leave;

nor

nor were the remaining differences so essenti
to my Peoples happinesse; or of such consequenc
as in the least kinde to have hindered my Subjec
either security, or prosperity; for they bein
enjoyed both, many years, before ever the
demands were made, some of which to den
I think the greatest justice to my self, and favo
to my subjects.

I see, Jealousies are not so easily allayed, as the
are raised: some men are more afraid to retire
from violent Engagements, then to Engage: wh
is wanting in equity, must be made up in pert
nacy. Such as had little to enjoy in peace, or
lose in War, studied to render the very name
Peace odious and supected.

In Church affairs, where I had least liberty o
Prudence, having so many strict ties of Con
science upon me; yet I was willing to conde
scend so far to the setling of them, as might hav
given fair satisfaction to all men, whom faction
covetousnesse, or superstition had not engaged
more, then any true Zeal, Charity, or love o
Reformation.

I was content to yeild to all that might seem
to advance true Piety; I onely sought to con
tinue what was necessary in point of Order
Maintenance, and Authority to the Church
Government; and what I am perswaded (as I
have else where set down my thoughts more fu
ly) is most agreeable to the true Principles of a
Government, raised to its full stature and per
fection, as also to the Primitive Apostolical Pa
terns, and the practice of the Universal Church
conformed thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without an
probable reason urged or answered, only to sa
fie some mens wils and fantasies which yet agr
not among themselves in any point, but that
extirpating Episcopacy, and fighting against m
must needs argue such a softnesse, and infirmi
of minde in me as will rather part with God
Truth then mans Peace, & rather lose the Church
Honour, then crosse mens Factious humours.

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God knows and time will discover, who were most to blame for the unsuccessefulnesse of that Treaty, and who must bear the guilt of after calamities. I beleeve, I am very excusable both before God, and all unpassionate men, who have seriously weighed those transactions, wherein I endeavoured no lesse the restauration of Peace to my People, then the preservation of my own Crowns to my Posterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all fair condescendings, as arguments of feeblenesse, and glory most in an unflexible stiffnesse when they see others most supple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxim in them was alwayes to ask something which in reason and honour must be denied, that they might have some colour to refuse all that was in other things granted: setting Peace at as high a rate, as the worst effects of War; endeavouring first to make me destroy my self by dishonourable Concessions, that so they might have the lesse to do.

This was all which that Treaty, or any other produced, to let the world see how little I would deny, or they grant in order to the Publike Peace. That it gave occasion to some mens further activenesse, is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to any Concessions or Negations of mine: I have alwayes the content of what I offered, and they the regreet, and blame for what they refused.

The highest tide of successe set me not above a Treaty, nor the lowest ebbe below a Fight: Though I never thought it any signe of true valour, to be prodigal of mens lives, rather then be drawn to produce Our own Reasons, or subscribe to other mens.

That which made me for the most part prefer the unsuccessefulnesse of any Treaty, was the mens unwillingnesse to Treat: which implyed some things were to be gained by the sword, whose unreasonablenesse they were loth to have fairly scannned, being more proper to be tried by Souldiers, then by Counsellours.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty
that Treaties breaking: and give them grac
make their advantages, gotten by the Swo
better opportunity to use such moderation, as
then wanting; that so though Peace were for
sins justly deferred, yet at last it may be happ
obtained, what we could not get by our Trea
we may gain by our Prayers.

O Thou that art the God of reason and of peac
who disdainest not to treat with sinners,
venting them with offers of atonement, and b
seeching them to be reconciled with thy self: w
wantest not power, or justice, to destroy them;
aboundest in mercy to save: soften our hearts
the blood of our Redeemer, and perswade us
accept of peace with thy self, and both to pre
and preserve peace among our selves, as Men a
Christians. How oft have I intreated for peace
but when I speak thereof they make ready for w

Condemn us not to our passions, which are d
structive both of our selves and of others.

Clear up our understandings to see thy Truth
both in Reason, as Men, and in Religion, as
Christians: and encline all our hearts to hold
unity of the Spirit, in the bond of Peace.

Take from us that enmitie which is now in o
hearts against thee: and give us that Chari
which should be among our selves,

Remove the evils of war we have deserved, a
bestow upon us peace which onely Christ o
great peace-maker can merit.

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19 *Upon the various events of the War, Victories, and Defeat*

THe various successes of this unhappy war h
at least afforded the variety of good medi
tions: sometimes God was pleased to try me w
Victorie, by wasting my enemies, that I mig
know how with moderation and thanks to o
and use his power, who is the onely m

Let

Lord of hosts; able when he pleases to repress, the confidence of those, who fought against me with so great advantages for power and number.

From small beginnings on my part, he let me see, that I was not wholly forsaken by my People, or his protection.

Other times God was pleased to exercise my Patience, and teach me not to trust in the arm of Flesh, but in the living God.

My foes sometimes prevailed against the justice of my cause: and those that were with me wanted not matter and occasion for his just chastisement both of them and me: Nor were my enemies lesse gratified by that prosperity which hardned them to continue that justice by open hostility, which first began by riotous and unparliamentary Tumults.

There is no doubt but personal and private sins may oft-times over-balance the Justice of Publick engagement; nor doth God account every gallant Man (in the Worlds esteem) a fit instrument to assert in the way of war a righteous Cause; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valour and strength, the lesse doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glory.

I am sure the event or successe can never state the justice of any cause, nor the peace of mens consciences, nor the eternal fate of their Souls.

Those with me had (I think) clearly and unanimously, for their justification, the Word of God and the Laws of the land, together with their own oaths, all requiring obedience to my just commands; but to none other under Heaven without me, against me, in the point of raising Arms.

Those on the other side are forced to fly to the plea of some pretended Fear, and wild fundamentals of State (as they call them) which actually overthrow the present Fabrick both of Church and State, being such Imaginary Reasons for self-defence as are most impertinent for those men to allege: who being my Subjects, were manifestly the first assaulters of me and the Laws: first by unprovoked Tumults, after by listed forces,

The same Allegations they use, will fit any fact
that hath but power and confidence enough
second with the sword, all their demands aga
the present Laws and Governours; which
never be such as some side or other will not fi
fault with, so as to urge what they call a Ref
mation of them, to a Rebellion against them; so
parasitick Preachers have dared to call th
Martyrs, who died fighting against me, the La
their Oaths, and the Religion established.

But sober Christians know, That glorious T
can with truth be applied onely to those, w
sincerely preferred Gods Truth, and their duty
all these particulars before their lives, and all t
was dear to them in this world; who, having
advantagious designes by any innovation, we
Religiously sensible of those ties to God, t
Church, and my self, which lay upon their Soul
both for obedience, and just assistance.

God could, and I doubt not but he did throug
his mercy crown many of them with eternal lif
whose lives were lost in so just a Cause; The d
struction of their Bodies being Sanctified, as
means to save their Souls.

Their wounds, and Temporal ruine serving a
gracious opportunity for their eternal health a
happinesse; while the evident approach of dea
through Gods grace, effectually disposing th
hearts to such Humility, Faith, and Repenta
which together with the Rectitude of their p
sent engagement, would fully prepare them
a better life then that, which their Enemies br
tish and disloyal fierceneſſe could deprive the
of, or without repentance hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed, had the better aga
my side in the Field; but never, I beleeve, at
Bar of Gods tribunal, or their own Conscienc
where they are more afraid to encounter th
many pregnant Reasons, both from Law, All
ance, and all true Christian grounds, which co
with, and accuse them in their own thoughts,
they oft were, in a desparate bravery to figh
gainst those forces, which sometimes God gave
Wh

Whose condition conquered, and dying, I make no question, but is infinitely more to be chosen by a sober man, (that duly values his duty, his soul, and eternity, beyond the enjoyments of this present life) then the most triumphant glory, wherein their and mine Enemies survive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt, wherewith their suspitious, or now convicted Consciences do pursue them, especially since they and all the world have seen, how false and un-intended those pretensions were, which they first set forth: as the onely plausible (though not justifiable) grounds of raising a War, and continuing it thus long against me, and the Laws established; in whose safety and preservation, all honest men think the welfare of their Countrey doth consist.

For and with all which, it is far more honourable and comfortable to suffer, then to prosper in their ruin and subversion.

I have often prayed, that all on my side might joyn true Piety with the sense of their Loyalty; and be as faithful to God and their own souls, as they were to me. That the defects of the one might not blast the endeavours of the other.

Yet I cannot think, that any shews or truth of piety on the other side were sufficient to dispence with, or expiate the defects of their Duty and Loyalty to me, which have so pregnant convictions on mens Consciences, that even profaner men are moved by the sense of them to venture their lives for me.

I never had any Victory which was without my sorrow, because it was on mine own Subjects: who, like *Absalom*, died many of them in their sin: And yet I never suffered any Defeat, which made me despair of Gods mercy and defence.

I never desired such Victories as might serve to conquer, but onely Restore the Laws and Liberties of my People; which I saw were extreamly oppressed; together with my Rights, by those men, who were impatient of any just restraint.

When Providence gave Me, or denied me Victory, my desire was neither to boast of my power, nor to charge God foolishly; who I believed at last would make all things so work together for my good.

I wished no greater advantages by the War then to bring my Enemies to moderation, and my Friends to peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an absolute conqueſt, and never prayed more for victory over others, then over my self. When the first was denied, the second was granted me, which God saw best for me.

The different events were but the methods of divine Justice, by contrary winds to winow us: That, by punishing our sins he might purge them from us: and by deferring peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better to use so great a blessing.

My often Messages for Peace shewed, that I delighted not in War: as my former Concessions sufficiently testified how willingly I would have prevented it; and my total unpreparedness for it, how little I intended it.

The Conscience of my Innocence forbade me to fear a War; but the love of my Kingdoms commanded me (if possible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this War of nothing, but this: That I gave such advantages to some men by confirming their power, which they knew not how to use with that modesty, and gratitude, which became their Loyalty and my confidence.

Had I yielded lesse, I had been opposed lesse; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occasions of the War; I wish onely a happy conclusion, of unhappy beginnings: The inevitable fate of our sins was (no doubt) such, as would no sooner suffer the divine Justice to be quiet, we have conquered his patience, are condemned by mutual conquerings to destroy one another: for the most prosperous successes on either side ingage the welfare of the whole.

The

Those Victories are still miserable, that leave our sins unsubdued; flushing our pride, and animating to continue injuries.

Peace it self is not desireable, till Repentance have prepared us for it.

When we fight more against our selves, and lesse against God, we shall cease fighting against one another; I pray God these may all meet in our hearts, and so dispose us to an happy conclusion of these Civil Wars, that I may know better to obey God, and govern my People; and they may learn better to obey both God and me.

Nor do I desire any man should be further subject to me, then all of us may be Subject to God.

O M/ God, make me content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it so.

Teach me the noblest victory over my self and Enemies by patience; which was Christs conquest, and may well become a Christian King.

Between both thy hands, the right sometime supporting, and the left afflicting, fashion us to that frame of piety thou likest best.

Forgive the pride that attends our prosperous, and the repinings, which follow our disastrous events; when going forth in our own strength thou with-drawest thine, and goest not forth with our Armies.

Be thou all, when we are something, and when we are nothing; that thou maiest have the glory, when we are in a victorious, or inglorious condition.

Thou, O Lord, knowest how hard it is for me to suffer so much evil from my Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but suffer in those evils which they compel me to inflict upon them; punishing my self in their punishments.

Since therefore, both in conquering, and being conquered, I am still a sufferer; I beseech thee give me a double portion of thy Spirit, and that measure of grace, which onely can be sufficient for me.

As I am most afflicted, so make me most reformed: that I may be not onely happy to see an end

of these civil distractions, but a chief instrument to restore and establish a firm, and blessed Peace to my Kingdoms.

Stir up in all Parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with reason, moderation, and such self-denial, as becomes those, who confider that our mutual divisions are our common distractions, and the Union of all is every good mans chiefest interest.

If, O Lord, as for the sins of our peace, thou hast brought upon us the miseries of War, so for the sins of War thou shouldest see fit still to deny us the blessing of Peace, and so to keep us in a circulation of miseries; yet forgive me thy servant, and all Loyal, though afflicted Subjects; to enjoy that Peace which the world can neither give to us, nor take from us.

Impute not to me the blood of my Subjects, which with infinite unwillingnesse and grief, hath been shed by me, in my just and necessary defence; but wash me with that precious blood, which hath been shed for me, by my great Peace-maker Jesus Christ.

Who will, I trust, redeem me shortly out of all my troubles: I know the triumphing of the wicked is but short, and the joy of Hypocrites is but for a moment.

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20 *Vpon the Reformation of the Times.*

NO glory is more to be envied, then that of due Reforming either Church or State, when deformities are such, that the perturbations and novelty are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God should not honour me so far, as to make me an instrument of so good a work, yet I should be glad to see it done.

As I was well pleased with this Parliaments first intentions to Reform what the indulgence of Times

Times and corruption of manners might have depraved; so am I sorry to see, after the freedom of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppressed, how little regard was had to the good Laws established, and the Religion setled; which ought to be the first rule and standard of Reforming: with how much partiality, and popular compliance, the Passions, and Opinions of men have been gratified, to the detriment of the Publick; and the infinite scandal of the reformed Religion.

What dissolutions of all order and Government in the Church? what novelties of Schisms, and corrupt opinions; what undecencies and confusions in sacred administrations? what sacrilegious invasions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church; what contempt and oppressions of the Clergie; what injurious diminutions and persecutings of me, have followed, (as showrs do warm gleams) the talk of Reformation, all sober men are Witnesse, and with my Self sad Spectatours hitherto.

The great miscarriage I think is, that popular clamours and fury, have been allowed the reputation of zeal, and the publick sense so; that the study to please some parties hath in deed injured all.

Freedom, moderation and impartiality are sure the best tempers of reforming Councels and endeavours; what is acted by Factions cannot but offend more, then it pleaseth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church affairs and religion to the free consultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly chosen; the results of whose counsels as they would have included the votes of all, so it is like they would have given most satisfaction to all.

The Assembly of Divines, whom the two Houses have applied (in an unwonted way) to advise of Church affairs, I dislike not further, then that they are not legally convened and chosen; nor act in the name of all the Clergie of *England*, nor with freedom and impartialitie can do any thing, being limited and confined, if not overawed, to do, and declare what they do.

For I cannot think so many men cryed up for learning and piety, who formerly allowed the Liturgie and Government of the Church of *England*, as to the main, would have so suddenly agreed quite to abolish both of them, (the last of which, they knew to be of Apostolical institution, at least; as of Primitive and Universal practice) if they had been left to the liberty of their own suffrages, and if the influence of contrary Factions had not by secret encroachments of hopes, and fears, prevailed upon them, to comply with so great and dangerous innovations in the Church, without any regard to their own former judgement or practise, or to the common interest and Honour of all the Clergie, and in them of Order, Learning, and Religion, against the examples of all ancient Churches, the Laws in force, and my consent; which is never to be gained against so pregnant light, as in that points shines on my understanding.

For I conceive, that, where the Scripture is not so clear and punctual in precepts, there the constant and universal practise of the Church, in things not contrary to Reason, Faith, good Manners, or any positive Command, is the best Rule that Christians can follow.

I was willing to grant or restore to Presbytery, what with Reason or discretion it can pretend to, in a conjecture with Episcopacie; but for that wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate, and quite abrogate the authority of that ancient order, I think neither just as to Episcopacy, nor safe for presbytery, nor yet any way convenient for this Church and State.

A due Reformation had easily followed moderate Counsels: and such (I believe) as would have given more content even to the most of those Divines, who have been led on with much Gravitie and formality, to carry on other mens designs, which no doubt many of them by this time discover, though they dare not but smother their frustrations and discontents.

The specious and popular Titles of Christs Go-

vernment,

vernment, Throne, Scepter, and Kingdom (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their parties now have at leaſt) alſo the noiſe of a through Reformation, theſe may as eaſily be fixed on new models, as fair colours may be Put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church Windows, which time had ſufficiently defaced; pulling down of Croſſes, Which were but civil, not Religious marks; defacing of Monuments; and inſcriptions of the dead, Which ſerved but to put Poſteritie in minde, to thank God, for that clearer light whereiſt they live; The leaving Miniſters to their liberties, and private abilities in the publick ſervice of God, where no Chriſtian can tell to what he may ſay, *Amen*; nor what adventure he may make, of ſeeming, at leaſt, to conſent to the Errours, Blaſphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies which bold and ignorant men liſt to vent in their prayers, preaching, and other offices. The ſetting forth alſo of old Catechiſmes, and confeſſions of Faith new dreſt, importing as much as if there had been no ſound or clear Doctrine of Faith in this Church, before ſome four or five years conſultation had matured their thoughts, touching their firſt principles of Religion,

All theſe and the like are the effects of popular, ſpecious, and deceitfull Reformations, (that they might not ſeem to have nothing to do) and may give ſome ſhort flaſhes of content to the vulgar, (who are taken with novelties, as children with babies, very much, but not very long) but all this amounts not to, nor can in Juſtice merit the glorie of the Churches through Reformation; ſince they leave all things more deformed, diſorderly, and diſcontented, then when they began, in point of Pietie, Moralitie, Charitie, and good Order.

Nor can they eaſily recompence or remedie the inconveniences and miſchiefs, which they have purchaſed ſo dearly, and which have, and ever will neceſſarily enſue, till due remedies be applied.

I wiſh they would at laſt, make it their [illegible]

mous work, to do Gods work, and to do their own: Had Religion been first considered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But some men thought, that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by so many Laws, and long Customs, would not run into their new moulds, till they had first melted it in the fire of a Civil War; by the advantages of which they resolved, if they prevailed, to make my self and all my Subjects fall down, and worship the Images they should form and set up: If there had been as much of Christs Spirit for meeknesse, wisdom, and charitie, in mens hearts, as there was of his name used in the pretensions, to perform all to Christs Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of Gods blessing, and produced more of Christs Glorie, the Churches good, the Honour of Religion, and the Unitie of Christians.

Publike Reformers had need first Act in private and practice that on their own hearts, which they purpose to trie on others; for deformities within will soon betray the pretenders of Publick Reformations, to such private designes as must needs hinder the Publick good.

I am sure the right Methods of Reforming the Church, cannot subsist with that of perturbing the Civil State, nor can Religion be justly advanced by depressing Loyalty, which is one of the chiefest Ingredients, and Ornaments of true Religion: for next to *Fear God*, is *Honour the King*.

I doubt not but Christs Kingdom may be set up without pulling down mine; nor will any man in impartial times appear good Christians, that approve not themselves good Subjects.

Christs Government will confirm mine, not overthrow it, since as I own mine from him. so I desire to Rule for his glorie, and his Churches good.

Had some men truly Intended Christs Government, or knew what it meant in their hearts, they could never have been so ill governed in their words, and actions, both against me and one another.

As-

As good ends cannot justifie evil means, so not Will evil beginnings ever bring forth good conclusions; unlesse God by a miracle of mercie, create Light out of Darknesse, Order out of our Confusions, and Peace out of our Passions.

THow, O Lord, who onely canst give beautie for ashes and Truth for Hypocrisie; suffer us not to be miserably deluded with Pharisaical washings, instead of Christian Reformings

Our greatest deformities are within, make us the severest Censurers, and first Reformers of our own Soules:

That we may in clearnesse of judgement, and uprightnesse of heart be means to Reform what is indeed amisse in Church and State.

Create in us clean hearts, O Lord, and renew right spirits within us; that we may do all by thy directions, to thy glory, and with thy blessing.

Pitie the deformities, which some rash and cruel Reformers have brought upon this Church and State, Quench the fires which Factions have kindled, under the pretence of Reforming.

As thou hast shewed the world by their divisions, and confusions, what is the privitie of some mens intentions, and weaknesse of their judgements; so bring us at last more refined out of these fires, by the methods of Christian and charitable Reformations; wherein nothing of ambition, revenge, covetousnesse, or sacriledge, may have any influence upon their counsels, whom thy providence in just and lawfull wayes shall entrust with so great, good and now most necessarie work. That I and my people may be so blest with inward p'etie, as may best teach us how to use the blessing of outward peace.

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21 *Upon his Majesties Letters Taken and divulged.*

THe taking of my Letters was an opportunitie, which, as the malice of mine Enemies could

hardly have expected; so they knew not how with honour and civilitie to use it: Nor do I think with sober and worthie minds any thinge in them, could tend so much to my reproch, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamie of the Divulgers: The greatest experiments of Vertue and Nobleness being discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemie, and the greatest obligations being those which are put upon Us by them, from whom We could least have expected them.

And such I should have esteemed the concealing of my Papers; The freedom and secresie of which, commands a civility from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there any thing more inhumane then to expose them to publick view.

Yet since providence will have it so, I am content so much of my heart (which I studie to approve to Gods omniscience) should be discovered to the world, without any of those dresses, or popular captations; which some men use in their Speeches, and Expresses; I wish my Subjects had yet a clearer sight into my most retired thoughts.

Where they might discover, how they are divided between the love and care I have, not more to preserve my own Rights then to procure their peace and Happinesse, and that extream grief to see them both deceived, and, destroyed,

Nor can any mans malice be gratified further by my Letters, then to see my constancie to my Wife, the Laws, and Religion. Bees will gather Honie where the Spider sucks Poyson.

That endeavour to avoid the pressures of my Enemies, by all fair and just correspondencies; no man can blame, who loves me, or the Commonwealth, since my Subjects can hardly be happie if I be miserable, or enjoy their peace and liberties while I am oppressed.

The world may see how some mens design, like *Absaloms*, is by enormous actions to widen differences and exasperate all sides to such distances, as may make all reconciliation desperate.

Yet I thank God I cannot onely with patience bear

bear this as other indignities: but with Charitie forgive them.

The integrity of my intentions is not jealous of any injury my expreſſions can do them, for although the confidence of privacy may admit of greater freedom in writing ſuch Letters which may be lyable to envious exceptions: yet the Innocency of my chief purpoſes cannot be ſo obtained, nor miſ-interpreted by them, as not to let all men ſee, that I wiſh nothing more then a happy Compoſure of differences with Juſtice and Honour, not more to my own then my peoples content, who have any ſparks of Love or Loyalty left in them: who by thoſe my Letters may be convinced, that I can both mind and act my own, and my Kingdoms affairs, ſo as becoms a Prince; which mine Enemies have alwayes been very loath ſhould be believed of me, as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and directions of others; whom they pleaſe to brand with the names of evil Counſellours.

Its probable ſome men wil now look upon me as my own Counſellour, and having none elſe to quarrel with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to my ſelf: Although I know they are very unwilling I ſhould enjoy the liberty of my own Conſcience, which they labour to bring into an abſolute captivity to them ſelves; not allowing me to think their Counſels to be other then good for me, which have ſo long maintained a war againſt me.

The Victorie they obtained that day, when my Letters became their prize, had been enough to have ſatiated the moſt ambitious thirſt of popular glory among the Vulgar; with whom proſperitie gains the greateſt eſteem and applauſe; as adverſitie expoſeth to their greateſt ſlighting and diſreſpect: As if good fortune were alwayes the ſhadow of Vertue and Juſtice, and did not oftner attend vitious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But I ſee no ſecular advantages ſeem ſufficient to that cauſe, which began with Tumults, and de-

depends chiefly upon their reputation with the vulgar.

They think no Victories so effectual to their designs as those, that must rout and waste my Credit with my People; in whose hearts they seek by all means to smother and extinguish all sparks of Love, Respect, and Loyalty to me, that they may never kindle again, so as to recover mine, the Laws, and the Kingdoms Liberties, which some men seek to overthrow: The taking away of my Credit is but a necessary preparation to the taking away of my Life, and my Kingdoms. First, I must seem neither fit to Live, nor worthy to Reign; By exquisite methods of cunning and cruelty, I must be compelled, first to follow the Funerals of my Honour, and then be destroyed: But I know Gods unerring and impartial Justice can, and will over-rule the most perverse wils and designes of men; He is able and (I hope will turn even the worst of mine enemies thoughts and actions to my good.

Nor do I think, that by the surprize of my Letters, I have lost any more then so many papers: how much they have lost of that reputation for Civility and Humanitie (which ought to be paid to all men, and most becoms such as pretend to Religion) besides that of respect and honour, which they ow to their KING, present and after times will judge. And I cannot think that their own Consciences are so stupid, as not to inflict upon them some secret impressions of that shame and dishonour, which attends all unworthy actions, have they never so much of publick flattery, and popular countenance.

I am sure they can never expect the Divine approbation of such indecent actions if they do but remember how God blest the modest respect and filial tenderness, which *Noahs* Sons bare to their Father) nor did his open infirmity justifie *Chams* Impudency, or exempt him from that curse of being *Servant of Servants*; which curse must needs be on them who seek by dishonourable actions

ons to please the Vulgar, and confirm by ignoble acts, their dependence upon the People.

Nor can their malitious intentions be ever either excusable, or prosperous; who thought by this means to expose me, to the higheſt reproch and contempt of my people; forgetting that duty of modeſt concealment: which they owed to the Father of their Countrey, in ceaſe they had diſcovered any real uncomlyneſſe; which I thank God they did not; who can, and I beleeve hath made me more reſpected in the hearts of many (as he did *David*) to whom they thought by publiſhing my private Letters, to have rendered me as a Vile Perſon, not fit to be truſted or conſidered, under any notion of Majeſtie.

But thou, O Lord, whoſe wiſe and all diſpoſing providence, ordereth the greateſt contingences of humane affairs; make me to ſee the conſtancy of thy mercies to me, in the greateſt advantages thou ſeemeſt to give the malice of mine enemies againſt me.

As thou didſt blaſt the counſel of *Ahithophel*, turning it to *Davids* good, and his own ruin: ſo canſt thou defeat their deſign, who intended by publiſhing my private Letters, nothing elſe, but to render me more odious and contemptible to my People.

I muſt firſt appeal to thy omniſcience, who canſt witneſſe with mine integritie, how unjuſt and falſe thoſe ſcandalous miſconſtructions are, which my enemies endeavour by thoſe Papers of mine to repreſent to the world.

Make the evil they imagined, and diſpleaſure they intended thereby againſt me, ſo to return on their own heads, that they may be aſhamed, and covered with their own confuſion; as with a cloak.

Thou ſeeſt how mine enemies uſe all means to cloud mine Honour, to pervert my purpoſes, and ſlander the foot-ſteps of thine Anointed.

But give me an heart content to be diſhonoured for thy ſake, and thy Churches good.

Fix

Fix in me a purpose to honour thee, and then I know thou wilt honour me, either by restoring to me the enjoyment of that Power and Majestie, which thou hast suffered some men to seek to deprive me of; or by bestowing on me the Crown of Christian patience, Which knows how to serve thee in honour, or dishonour, in good report or evil.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountain of goodnesse, and honour; thou art clothed with excellent Majestie; make me to partake of thy Excellency for wisdom, justice, and mercie, and I shall not want that degree of Honour and Majestie, which becoms the place in which thou hast set me; who art the lifter up of my head, and my salvation.

Lord by thy Grace, lead me to thy glorie which is both true and eternal.

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22 *Upon His Majestie leaving* Oxford, *and going to the* Scots.

Although God hath given me three Kingdoms, yet in these he hath not now left me any place where I may with Safetie and Honour rest my Head: Shewing me that himself is the safest Refuge, and the strongest Tower of defence in which I may put my Trust.

In these extremities, I look not to man so much as to God, he will have it thus; that I may wholly cast my self, and my now distressed affairs upon his mercie, who hath both heart and hands of all men in his dispose.

What providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Necessitie is now my Counsellour, and Commands me to studie my safetie by a disguised withdrawing from my chiefest strength and adventuring upon their Loyaltie, who first began my Troubles. Happily God may make them a meanes honourably to compose them.

That

This my confidence of them, may disarm and overcome them; my rendering my person to them, may engage their affections to me, who have oft professed, *They fought not against me but for me.*

I must now resolve the riddle of their Loyalties and give them opportunity to let the World see, they mean not what they do, but what they say.

Yet must God be my chiefest Guard; and my Conscience both my Counsellour and my Comforter: Though I put my body into their hands, yet I shall reserve my soul to God, and my self; nor shall any necessities compel me, to desert mine Honour, or swerve from my judgement.

What they sought to take by force shall now be given them in such a way of unusual confidence of them, as may make them ashamed not to be really such, as they ought, and professed to be.

God sees it not enough to deprive me of all Militarie power to defend my self; but to put me upon using their power, who seem to fight against me, yet ought in duty to defend me.

So various are all humane affairs, and so necessitous may the state of Princes be, that their greateſt danger may be in their supposed safetie, and their safety in their suppo'ed danger.

I must now leave those, that have Adhered to me, and apply to those that have opposed me; this method of Peace may be more prosperous, then that of War, both to stop the effusion of blood, and to close those wounds already made: and in it I am no lesse sollicitous for my Friends safety, then mine own; chusing to venture my self upon further hazards, rather then expose their resolute Loyalty to all extremities.

It is some skill in play to know when a game is lost; better fairly to give over, then to contest in vain.

I must now study to re-inforce my judgement, and fortifie my minde with Reason and Religion; that I may not seem to offer up my Souls Libertie, or make my Conscience their Cap-

Captive; who ought at first to have used Arguments not Arms to have perswaded my consent to their new demands.

I Thank God no successe darkens or disguises Truth to me; and I shall lesse conform my words to my inward dictates now, then if they had been, as the words of a KING ought to be among Loyal Subjects full of power.

Reason is the divinest power. I shall never think my self weakened, while I may have full and free use of that. No eclypse of outward fortune shall rob me of that light; what God hath denied of outward strength, his grace, I hope, will supply with inward resolutions, not morosely to denie, what is fit to be granted; but not to grant any thing, which Reason and Religion bids me denie.

I shall never think my self lesse then my self while I am able thus to preserve the integrity of my Conscience, the onely Jewel now left me, which is worth keeping.

O Thou Soveraign of our souls, the onely Commander of our Consciences; though I know not what to do, yet mine eyes are toward thee: To the protection of thy mercy I still commend my self.

As thou hast preserved me in the day of battel, so thou canst still shew me thy strength in my weaknesse.

Be thou unto me in my darkest night a pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct me; in the day of my hottest affliction, be also a pillar of cloud, to over shadow and protect me; be to me both a Sun and a Shield.

Thou knowest, that it is not any perverseness of will, but just perswasions of Honour, Reason, and Religion, which have made me thus far to hazard my Person, Peace and Safety, against those, that by force have sought to wrest them from me.

Suffer not my just resolutions to abate with my outward Forces: let a good Conscience alwayes accompany me in my solitude and desertions.

Suffer

Suffer me not to betray the powers of Reason, and that fortresse of my Soul, which I am intrusted to keep for thee.

Lead me in the paths of righteousnesse, and shew me thy salvation.

Make my wayes to please thee, and then thou wilt make mine Enemies to be at peace with me.

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23 *Vpon the* Scots *delivering the* KING *to the* English; *and His Captivity at* Holmbie.

YEt may I justifie those Scots to all the world in this, that they have not deceived me: for I never trusted to them further, then to men: if I am sold by them, I am onely sorry they should do it; and that my price should be so much above my Saviours.

These are but further Essayes, which God will have me make of mans uncertainty, the more to fix me on himself, who never faileth them that trust in him: Though the Reeds of Egypt break under the hand of him that leans on them: yet the Rock of Israel will be an everlasting stay and defence.

Gods providence commands me to retire from all to himself, that in him I may enjoy my self, which I lose, while I let out my hopes to others.

The solitude and captivity to which I am now reduced, give me leisure enough to study the worlds vanity, and inconstancy.

God sees this fit to deprive me of Wife, Children, Army, Friends, and Freedom, that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the unfortunate, if I be not in the black list of irreligious and sacrilegious Princes.

No restraint shall ensnare my Soul in sin, nor gain

gain that of me, which may make my Enemies more insolent, my Friends ashamed, or my Name accursed.

They have no great cause to triumph, that they got my Person into their power: since my Soul is still my own; nor shall they ever gain my consent against my conscience.

What they call obstinacy, I know God accounts honest constancy, from which, Reason and Religion, as well as Honour, forbid me to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evil Counsellours with me, but a good Conscience in me, which hath been fought against; nor did they ever intend to bring me to my Parliament, till they had brought my minde to their obedience.

Should I grant what some men desire, I should be such as they wish me, not more a King, and far lesse both Man and Christian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtain, neither shall Restraint, which though it have as little of safety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The fear of men shall never be my snare: nor shall the love of any liberty entangle my soul: Better other betray me, then my self: and that the price of my liberty should be my Conscience; the greatest injuries my Enemies seek to inflict upon me, cannot be without my own consent.

While I can deny with reason, I shall defeat the greatest impressions for their malice who neither know how to use worthily, what I have already granted, nor what to enquire more of me but this, That I would seem willing to help them to destroy my self and mine.

Although they should destroy me, yet they shall have no cause to despise me.

Neither liberty nor life are so dear to me, as the peace of my Conscience the Honor of my Crown, and the welfare of my People: which my word may injure more then any War can do; while I gratifie a few to oppresse all.

The Laws will, by Gods blessing revive, with the Love and Loyalty of my Subjects; if I bury that

them not by my Consent, and cover them in that grave of dishonour, and injustice which some mens violence hath digged for them.

If my Captivity or death must be the price of their redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miserable, which carrieth not with it his Souls, his Peoples, and Posteritie's thraldom.

After-times may see, what the blindnesse of this Age will not: and God may at length shew my Subjects, that I chuse rather to suffer for them, then with them: happily I might redeem my self to some shew of liberty, if I would consent to enslave them: I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, then to confirm many Tyrants over them; from whom I pray God deliver them, whatever become of me, whose solitude hath not left me alone.

FOr thou, O God, infinitely good and great, art with me, whose presence is better then life; and whose service is perfect freedom.

Own me for thy servant, and I shall never have cause to complain for want of that liberty, which becometh a Man, a Christian and a King.

Blesse me still with Reason as a Man; with Religion as a Christian; and with Constancy in justice as a King.

Though thou sufferest me to be stript of all outward ornaments, yet preserve me ever in those enjoyments, wherein I may enjoy thy self; and which cannot be taken from me against my will.

Let no fire of affliction boyl over my passion to any impatience of sordid fears.

There be many say of me, There is no help for me: do thou lift up the light of thy countenance upon me, and I shall never want Safety, Liberty, nor Majesty.

Give me that measure of Patience and Constancy, which my condition now requires.

My strength is scattered, my expectation from men defeated, my Person restrained: O be not thou far from me, lest my enemies prevail too much against me.

I

I am become a wonder and a ſcorn to many: O be thou my Helper and Defender.

Shew ſome token upon me for good, that they that hate me, may be aſhamed, becauſe thou Lord haſt holpen and comforted me: eſtabliſh me with thy free Spirit that I may do, and ſuffer thy Will, as thou wouldſt have me.

Be merciful to me, O Lord, for my Soul truſteth in thee: yea, and in the ſhadow of thy wings will I make my refuge until theſe calamities be over-paſt.

Ariſe to deliver me, make no long tarrying, O my God. Though thou killeſt me, yet will I truſt in thy Mercy, and my Saviours Merit.

I know that my Redeemer liveth; though thou leadeſt me through the vale and ſhadow of death, yet ſhall I fear none ill.

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24 *Vpon their denying his Majeſty the Attendance of His Chaplains.*

WHen Providence was pleaſed to deprive me of all other civil comforts and ſecular Attendants, I thought the abſence of them all might beſt be ſupplied by the attendance of ſome of my Chaplains, whom for their function I reverence, and for their Fidelity I have cauſe to love. By their Learning, Piety, and Prayers, I hoped to be either better enabled to ſuſtain the want of all other Injoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and uſe of them in Gods good time: ſo reaping, by their pious help, a ſpiritual harveſt of Grace amidſt the thorns, and after the plowings of temporal croſſes.

The truth is, I never needed, or deſired more the ſervice and aſſiſtance of men judiciouſly pious, and ſoberly devout.

The Solitude, they have confined me unto, adds the Wilderneſſe to my temptations; For the company they obtrude upon me, is more ſad then any ſolitude can be. If

If I had asked my Revenues, my power of the Militia, or any one of my kingdoms, it had been no wonder to have been denied in those things, where the evil policie of men forbids all just restitution, lest they should confesse an injurious usurpation: But to deny the Ghostly comfort of my Chaplains seems a greater rigour and barbaritie, then is ever used by Christians to the meanest Prisoners, and greatest Malefactours; whom though the justice of the Law deprive of wordly comforts, yet the mercie of Religion allows them the benefit of their Clergie, as not aiming at once to destroy their Bodies, and to damn their souls.

But my agony must not be relieved with the presence of any one good Angel; for such I account a Learned, Godly, and discreet Divine: and such I would have all mine to be.

They that envy my being a King, are loth I should be a Christian, while they seek to deprive me of all things else, They are afraid I should save my Soul.

Other sense, Charitie it self can hardly pick out of those many harsh Repulses I received, as to that Request so often made for the Attendance of some of my Chaplains.

I have sometime thought the unchristianesse of those Denials might arise from a displeasure some men had to see me prefer mine own Divines before their Ministers: whom though I respect for that worth and piety which may be in them; yet I cannot think them so proper for any present Comforters or Physicians; Who have (some of them at least) had so great an influence in occasioning these calamities, and inflicting these wounds upon me.

Nor are the sobereſt of them so apt for that devotional compliance and juncture of hearts, which I desire to bear in those holy offices, to be performed with me, and for me; since their judgements standing at a distance from me, or in jealousie of me, or in opposition against me, their spirits cannot so harmoniously accord with mine, or

mine

mine with theirs, either in Prayer, or other holy Duties, as is meet, and moſt comfortable; whoſe golden Rule, and bond of perfection conſiſts in that of mutual love and charity.

Some Remedies are worſe then the Diſeaſe, and ſome comforters more miſerable then miſerie it ſelf, when like *Jobs* friends, they ſeek not to fortifie ones minde with patience: but perſwade a man by betraying his own Innocency, to deſpair of Gods mercie; and by juſtifying their Injuries, to ſtrengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of inſolent Enemies.

I am ſo much a Friend to all Church-men, that have any thing in them beſeeming that ſacred Function, that I have hazarded mine own Intereſts, chiefly upon Conſcience and Conſtancie to maintain their Rights; whom no more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the ſacrilegious eyes of many cruel and rapacious Reformers; ſo I thought it my duty the more to appear as a Father and a patron for them and the Church. Although I am very unhandſomly requited by ſome of them, who may live to repent no leſſe for my ſufferings, then their ungrateful Errours, and that injurious contempt and meanneſſe, which they have brought upon their calling and Perſons.

I pitie all of them, I deſpiſe none; onely I thought I might have leave to make choice of ſome for ſpecial Attendants, who were beſt approved in my judgement, and moſt ſutable to my affection. For I held it better to ſeem undevout, and to hear no mens Prayers, then to be forced or ſeem to comply with thoſe Petitions, to which the heart cannot conſent, nor the tongue ſay, *Amen*, without contradicting a mans own underſtanding, or belying his own ſoul.

In devotions, I love neither profane boldneſſe, nor pious non-ſenſe: but ſuch an humble and judicious gravitie as ſhews the Speaker to be at once conſiderate of Gods Majeſtie, the Churches honour, and his own vileneſſe; both knowing what things God allows him to aſk, and in what manner it becomes a Sinner to ſupplicate the divine Mercie for himſelf and others.

am equally ſcandalized with all prayers, that
d either imperiouſly, or rudely, and paſſionate-
as either wanting humility to God, or chari-
to men, or reſpect to the duty.

confeſſe, I am better pleaſed, as with ſtudied
premeditated Sermons, ſo with ſuch publick
s of Prayers, as are fitted to the Churches
every Chriſtians daily and common neceſſities;
ſe I am by them better aſſured, what I may
my heart unto, then I can be of any mans
mporary ſufficiency; which as I do not whol-
exclude from publick occaſions, ſo I allow its
liberty and uſe in private and devout reite-
s; where neither the ſolemnity of the duty,
the modeſt regard to others do require ſo
exactneſſe as to the outward manner of per-
ance. Though the light of underſtanding, and
fervency of affection, I hold the main and moſt
ſary requiſites both in conſtant, and occaſi-
ſolitary and ſocial devotions.

that I muſt needs ſeem to all equall mindes
as much reaſon to prefer the ſervice of mine
plains before that of their Miniſters, as I do
Liturgie before their directory.

the one I have been always educated and
miſed; In the other I am not yet Churchi-
, nor acquainted: And if I were, yet ſhould I
by that as by any certain Rule and Canon of
ion, be able to follow or finde out the in-
extravagancies of moſt of thoſe men, who
cry up that as a piece of rare compoſure
fe; which is already as much deſpiſed and
ed by many of them, as the Common-prayer
mes was by thoſe men; a great part of
piety hung upon that popular pin of rail-
againſt, and contemning the government, and
gy of this Church. But I had rather be con-
ned of the two of *Vae ſoli*, then to that of *Vae*
Hypocritis, by ſeeming to pray what I do
approve.

may be I am eſteemed by my denyers ſufficil-
of my ſelf to diſcharge my Duty to God as a
, though not to men as a Prince, &c.

Indeed, I think both Offices Regal and Sacerdotal, might well become the same Person; as anciently they were under one name, and the united rights of Primogeniture: Nor could I follow better Presidents, if I were able, then those two eminent Kings *David* and *Solomon*; not more famous for their Scepters and crowns, then one was for devout Psalms and Prayers; the other for his divine Parables and preaching; whence the one merited and assumed the name of a Prophet, and the other of a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater honour where rightly placed, then any of those the Roman Emperours affected from the Nations they subdued: it being infinitely more glorious to convert Souls to Gods Church by the Word, then to conquer men to a Subjection by the Sword.

Yet since the order of Gods wisdom and providence hath, for the most part alwayes distinguished the gifts and offices of Kings, of Priests, of Princes and Preachers; both in the Jewish and Christian Churches: I am sorry to finde my self reduced to the necessity of being both, or enjoying neither.

For such as seek to deprive me of Kingly power and Sovereignty; would no lesse enforce me to live many Moneths without all Prayers, Sacraments and Sermons, unlesse I become mine own Chaplain.

As I ow the Clergy the protection of a Christian KING, so I desire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and Prayers; which I look upon as more prevalent, then mine own, or other mens; by how much they flow from minds more enlighted, and affections lesse distracted, than those, which are encombred with secular affairs. Besides I think a greater blessing and acceptableness attends those duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of their calling, to which God and the Church have specially designed and consecrated some men: And however as to that spiritual Government, by which the devout Soul is Subject to Christ, and

through his merits daily offers it self and its services to GOD, every private believer is a King and Priest, invested with the Honor of a Royal Priesthood; yet as to Ecclesiastical order, and the outward policy of the Church, I think confusion in Religion will as certainly follow every mans turning Priest or Preacher, as it will in the State, where every one affects to rule as King.

I was alwayes bred to more modest and I think more pious Principles: the consciousnesse to my spiritual defects make me more prize and desire those pious assistances, which holy and good Ministers, either Bishops or Presbyters, may afford me, especially in these Extremities, to which God hath been pleased to suffer some of my Subjects to reduce me; so as to leave them nothing more, but my life to take from me: and to leave me nothing to desire, which I thought might lesse provoke their jealousie and offence to deny me, then this of having some means afforded me for my souls comfort and support.

To which end I made choice of men, as no way, that I know, scandalous, so every way eminent for their learning and pieties, no lesse then for their Loyalty: nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made against them, but only this, that they may seem too able, and too well affected toward me and my service.

But this is not the first service, as I count it the best, in which they have forced me to serve my self; though I must confesse I bear with more grief and impatience the want of my Chaplains, then of any other my Servants; and next, if not beyond in some things, to the being sequestred from my Wife and Children, since from these indeed more of humane and temporary affections, but from those more of heavenly and eternal improvements may be expected.

My comfort is, that in the inforced not neglected, want of ordinary means, God is wont to afford extraordinary supplies of his gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach me and help mine Infirmities in prayer, reading, and meditation, as I

hope he will) I ſhall need no other, either Oratour or Inſtructer.

TO thee therefore, O my God, do I direct my now ſolitary prayers: what I want of others help, ſupply with the more immediate aſſiſtances of thy Spirit, which alone can both enlighten my darkneſſe, and quicken my dulneſſe.

O thou Sun of righteouſneſſe, thou ſacred Fountain of heavenly light and heat, at once clear and warm my heart, both by inſtructing of me, and interceding for me: In thee is all fulneſſe; from thee all ſufficiency: By thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough, and comfort enough: Thou art my King, be alſo my Prophet and my Prieſt: Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me, and be thou ever with me.

The ſingle wreſtlings of *Jacob* prevailed with thee, in that ſacred Duel when he had none to ſecond him but thy ſelf; who didſt aſſiſt him with power to overcome thee, and by a welcome violence to wreſt a bleſſing from thee.

O look on me thy Servant, in infinite mercy, whom thou didſt once bleſſe with the joynt and ſociated Devotions of others, whoſe fervency might inflame the coldneſſe of my affections towards thee; when we went to, or met in thy Houſe with the voice of joy and gladneſſe, worſhipping thee in the unity of ſpirits, and with the bond of Peace.

O forgive the neglect, and not improving of thoſe happy opportunities.

It is now thy pleaſure that I ſhould be as a Pelican in the wilderneſſe, as a Sparrow on the houſe top, and as a Coal ſcattered from all thoſe pious glowings, and devout reflections, which might beſt kindle, preſerve, and increaſe the holy fire of thy graces on the Altar of my heart, whence the ſacrifice of prayers and incenſe of praiſes might be duly offered up to thee.

Yet O thou that breakeſt not the bruiſed Reed, nor quencheſt the ſmoking Flax: do not deſpiſe the weakneſſe of my prayers, nor the ſmotherings

of

of my ſoul in this uncomfortable loneneſſe; to which I am conſtrained by ſome mens uncharitable denials of thoſe helps, which I much want, and no leſſe deſire.

O let the hardneſſe of their hearts occaſion the ſighings of mine to thee, and for them. Let their hatred kindle my love, let their unreaſonable denials of my Religious deſires the more excite my prayers to thee. Let their inexorable deafneſſe incline thine ear to me, who art a God eaſie to be intreated; thine ear is not heavie, that it cannot, nor thy heart hard, that it will not hear; nor thy hand ſhortned, that it cannot help me thy deſolate Suppliant.

Thou permitteſt men to deprive me of thoſe outward means, which thou haſt appointed in thy Church; But they cannot debar me from the communion of that inward grace, which thou alone breatheſt into humble hearts.

O make me ſuch, and thou wilt teach me, thou wilt hear me, thou wilt help me: The broken and contrite heart I know thou wilt not deſpiſe.

Thou, O Lord, canſt at once make me thy Temple, thy Prieſt, thy Sacrifice, and thine Altar; while from an humble heart I, alone, daily offer up in holy meditations, fervent prayers, and unfeigned tears my ſelf to thee; who prepareſt me for thee, dwelleſt in me, and accepteſt of me.

Thou, O Lord, didſt cauſe my ſecret ſupplies and miraculous infuſions, that the handfull of meal in the veſſel ſhould not ſpend, nor the little oyl in the cruſe fail the Widow during the time of drought of dearth.

O look on my ſoul, which as a Widow is now deſolate and forſaken: let not thoſe ſaving truths I have formerly learned now fail my memory: nor the ſweet effuſions of thy Spirit which I have ſometime felt, now be wanting to my heart in this famine of ordinary and wholeſome food for the refreſhing of my Soul.

Which yet I had rather chuſe then to feed from thoſe hands who mingle my bread with aſhes, and my wine with gall; rather tormenting, then

teaching me; whose mouths are proner to bitter reproches of me, then to hearty prayers for me.

Thou knoweſt, O Lord of truth, how oft they wreſt thy holy Scriptures to my deſtruction, (which are clear for their ſubjection, and my preſervation) O let it not be to their damnation.

Thou knoweſt how ſome men, under colour of long prayers, have ſought to devour the houſes of their Brethren, their King, and their God.

O let not thoſe mens balms break my head, nor their cordials oppreſſe my heart, I will evermore prav againſt their wickedneſſe.

From the poiſon under their tongues, from the ſnares of their lips, from the fire, and the ſwords of their words ever deliver me, O Lord, and all thoſe Loyal and Religious hearts, who deſire and delight in the proſperity of my ſoul, and who ſeek by their prayers to relieve this ſadneſſe, and ſolitude of thy ſervant, O my King and my God.

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25 Penitential Meditations and Vows in the KINGS ſolitude at *Holmeby*.

GIve ear to my words, O Lord, conſider my Meditation, and hearken to the voice of my cry, my King and my God, for unto thee will I pray.

I ſaid in my haſte I am caſt out of the ſight of thine eyes; nevertheleſſe thou heareſt the voice of my ſupplication, when I cry unto thee.

If thou Lord ſhouldſt be extream to mark what is done amiſſe, who can abide it? but there is mercy with thee, that thou mayeſt be feared: therefore ſhall ſinners flie unto thee.

I acknowledge my ſins before thee, which have the aggravation of my condition; the eminency of my place adding weight to my offences.

Forgive, I beſeech thee, my Perſonal, and my Peoples ſins, which are ſo far mine, as I have not lan-

Improved the power thou gaveſt me, to thy glory and my Subjects good: Thou haſt now brought me from the glory and freedom of a King, to be a Priſoner to mine own Subjects; Juſtly, O Lord, art to thy over-ruling hand because in many things I have rebel'ed againſt thee.

Though thou haſt reſtrained my Perſon, yet enlarge my heart to thee, and thy grace towards me.

I come far ſhort of Davids piety; yet ſince I may equal Davids afflictions, give me alſo the comforts and ſure mercies of David.

Let the penitent ſenſe I have of my ſins be an evidence to me that thou haſt pardoned them.

Let not the evils which I and my Kingdoms have ſuffered, ſeem little unto thee, though thou haſt not puniſhed us according to our ſins.

Turn thee, O Lord, unto me; have mercy upon me, for I am deſolate and afflicted.

The ſorrows of my heart are enlarged; O bring thou me out of my troubles.

Haſt thou forgotten to be gracious, and wilt thou ſhut up thy loving kindneſſe in diſpleaſure?

O remember thy compaſſions of old, and thy loving kindneſſes, which have been for many generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not believed to ſee thy goodneſſe in the land of the living.

Let not the ſins of our proſperity deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fiery tryal conſume the droſſe, which in long peace and plenty we had contracted.

Though thou continueſt miſeries, yet withdraw not thy grace; what is wanting of proſperity, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger be not to be yet turned away, but thy hand of juſtice muſt be ſtretched out ſtil; Let it I beſeech thee be againſt me and my Fathers houſe; as for theſe ſheep, what have they done?

Let my ſuffering ſatiate the malice of mine, and thy Churches enemies.

But let their cruelty never exceed the meaſure of my charity.

Banish from me all thoughts of Revenge, that I may not lose the reward, nor thou the glory of my patience.

As thou giveſt me a heart to forgive them, ſo I beſeech thee do thou forgive what they have done againſt thee and me.

And now, O Lord, as thou haſt given me an heart to pray unto thee; ſo hear and accept this Vow, which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercy remember me, and my Kingdoms; in continuing the light of thy goſpel, and ſetling thy true Religion among us.

In reſtoring to us the benefit of the Laws, and the due execution of Juſtice.

In ſuppreſſing the many Schiſmes in Church, and Factions in State.

If thou wilt reſtore me and mine to the Ancient rights and glory of my Predeceſſours.

If thou wilt turn the hearts of my people to thy ſelf in Piety, to me in Loyaltie, and to one another in Charity.

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the fewel of theſe civil Wars.

If thou wilt bleſſe us with the freedom of Publick Counſels, and deliver the Honour of Parliaments from the inſolence of the vulgar.

If thou wilt keep me from the great offence of enacting any thing againſt my Conſcience; and eſpecially from conſenting to ſacrilegious rapines, and ſpoilings of thy Church.

If thou wilt reſtore me to a capacity to glorifie thee in doing good, both to the Church and State.

Then ſhall my ſoul praiſe thee, and magnifie thy name before my people.

Then ſhall thy glory be dearer to me then my Crowns; and the advancement of true Religion both in puritie and power be my chiefeſt care.

Then will I rule my people with juſtice, and my people with equity.

To thy more immediate hand ſhall I ever owe as the rightful ſucceſſion, ſo the merciful reſtauration of my kingdoms, and the glory of them.

If

If thou wilt bring me again with peace, safety, and honour, to my chiefest Citie, and my Parliament.

If thou wilt again put the Sword of Justice into my hand to punish and protect.

Then will I make all the world to see, and my very enemies to enjoy the benefit of this Vow and resolution of Christian Charity, which I now make unto thee, O Lord.

As I do freely pardon for Christs sake those that have offended me in any kind; so my hand shall never be against any man to revenge what is past in regard of any particular injury done to me.

We have been mutually punished in our unnatural divisions; for thy sake, O Lord and for the love of my redeemer, have I purposed this in my heart, That I will use all means in the wayes of *oneſty* and indempnitie which may most fully remove all fears, and burie all jealousies in forgetfulnesse.

Let thy mercies be toward me and mine, as my resolutions of Truth and peace are toward my People.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, which goeth not out of fained lips.

Blessed be God, who hath not turned away my prayer; nor taken his mercy from me.

O my soul commit thy way to the Lord, trust in him, and he shall bring it to passe.

But if thou wilt not restore me and mine, what am I, that I should charge thee foolishly?

Thou, O Lord hast given, and thou hast taken, Blessed by thy name.

May my People and thy Church be happie, if not by me, yet without me.

26 *Vpon the Armies Surprisal of the* KING *at* Holmeby, *and the ensuing destractions in the two Houses, the Army, and the citie.*

What part God will have me now to act or suffer in this new and strange Scene of affairs, I am not much solicious; some little practise will serve that man who onely seeks to represent a part of honestie and Honour.

This surprize of me tels the world, That a KING cannot be so low, but be he is considerable; adding weight to that Partie where he appears.

This motion, like others of the Times, seems excentrique and irregular, yet not well to be resisted or quieted: Better swim down such a stream, then in vain to strive against it.

These are but the struglings of those twins, which lately one womb enclosed, the younger striving to prevail against the elder; what the presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now seek to catch for themselves.

So impossible is it for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, so much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the builders of *Babel* should from division fall to confusion, is no wonder; but for those that pretend to build *Jerusalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill *omen*, and sounds too like the fury of those zealots, whose intestine bitterneſſe and divisions were the greatest occasion of the last fatal destruction of that Citie.

well may I change my Keepers and prison, but

but not my captive condition, onely with this hope of bettering, that those who are so much professed Patrons for the Peoples Liberties, cannot be utterly against the liberty of their KING; what they demand for their own consciences, they cannot in Reason denie to mine.

In this they seem more ingenious, then the Presbyterian rigour who somtimes complaining of exacting their conformitie to laws, are become the greateſt Exactours of other mens submission to their novel injunctions, before they are stamped with the Authoritie of Laws, which they cannot well have without my consent.

Tis a great argument, that the Independents think themselves manumitted from their Rivals service, in that they carrie on a businesse of such consequence, as the assuming my Person into the armies custodie, without any Commission but that of their own will and power. Such as will thus adventure on a King must not be thought overmodeſt, or timorous to carrie on any design they have a minde to.

Their next motion menaces, and scares both the two Houses and the Citie; which soon after acting over again that former part of tumultuarie motions, (never questioned, punished, or repented) must now suffer for both; and see their former sin in the glasse of the present terrours and distractions.

No man is so blinde as not to see herein the hand of divine Justice; they that by Tumults first occasioned the raising of Armies, must now be chastened by their own Armie for new Tumults.

So hardly can men be content with one sin, but adde sin to sin, till the latter punish the former; such as were content to see me and many Members of both Houses driven away by the first unsuppressed Tumults, are now forced to fly to an Army, to defend themselves against them.

But

But who can unfold the riddle of some mens Justice? the Members of both Houses who at first withdrew, (as my self was forced to do) from the rudenesse of the Tumults, were counted Desertours and outed of their Places in Parliament.

Such as stayed then, and enjoyed the benefit of the Tumults, were asserted for the onely Parliament men: now the Fliers from and forsakers of their places, carrie the Parliamentarie power along with them; complain highly against the Tumults, and Vindicate themselves by an Armie: such as remained and kept their stations, are looked upon as Abettours of Tumultuarie insolencies, and Betrayers of the Freedom and Honour of Parliament.

This is power above all Rule, Order, and Law; where, men look more to present Advantages then their Consciences, and the unchangeable rules of Justice; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to comdemn themselves.

Now the plea against Tumults holds good, the Authours and Abettours of them are guiltie of prodigious insolencies; when as before, they were counted as Friends and necessary Assistants.

I see vengeance pursues and overtakes (as the mice and rats are said to have done a Bishop in Germany) them that thought to have escaped and fortified themselves most impregnably against it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will punish, by their own crimes and hands.

I cannot but observe this divine Justice, and with sorrow and pitie; for, I alwayes wished so well to Parliament and Citie, that I was sorrie to see them do, or suffer any thing unworthy such great and considerable bodies in this Kingdom.

I was glad to see them onely scared and humbled, not broken by that shaking: I never had

had so ill a thought of those Cities, as to despair of their Loyaltie to me; which mistakes might eclipse, but I never beleeved malice had quite put out.

I pray God the storm be yet wholly passed over them, upon whom I look, as Christ did sometimes over *Jerusalem*, as objects of my prayers and tears, with compassionate grief, foreseeing those severer scatterings which will certainly befall such as wantonly refuse to be gathered to their duty: fatal blindnesse frequently attending and punishing wilfulnesse, so that men shall not be able at last to prevent their sorrows who would not timely repent of their sins; nor shall they be suffered to enjoy the comforts, who securely neglect the counsels belonging to their peace. They will finde that Brethren in iniquity are not far from becoming insolent enemies, there being nothing harder then to keep ill men long in one minde.

Nor is it possible to gain a fair period for those notions which go rather in a round and circle of fansie, then in a right line of reason tending to the Law, the onely center of publike consistency; whither I pray God at least bring all sides.

Which will easily be done, when we shall fully see how much more happie we are, to be subject to the known Laws then to the various wills of any men, seem they never so plausible at first.

Vulgar compliance with any illegal and extravagant wales, like violent motions in nature, soon grows weary of it self, and end in a refractory sullennesse: peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who first put them upon those violent strokes.

For the Army (which is so far excusable, as they act according to Souldiers principles, and interests, demanding Pay and indempnity) I think it necessary, in order to the publick peace that they should be satisfied, as far as is just, no man being more prone to consider them then my self; though they have fought against me, yet I cannot but so far esteem that valour and gallantry

lantry they have ſometime ſhewed, as to wiſh I may never want ſuch men to maintain my ſelf, my Laws, and my Kingdoms, in ſuch a peace, as wherein they may enjoy their ſhare and proportion as much as any men.

But thou, O Lord, who art perfect Unity in a ſacred Trinity, in mercy behold thoſe, whom thy Juſtice hath divided.

Deliver me from the ſtrivings of my people, and make me to ſee how much they need prayer, and pity, who agreed to fight againſt me, and yet are now ready to fight one againſt another, to the continuance of my Kingdoms diſtractions.

Diſcover to all ſides the wayes of peace, from which they have ſwerved: which conſiſts not in the divided wills of Parties, but in the point and due obſervation of the Laws.

Make me willing to go whither thou wilt lead me by thy providence, and be thou ever with me, that I may ſee thy conſtancy in the worlds variety and changes.

Make me even ſuch as thou wouldſt have me, that I may at laſt enjoy that ſafety and tranquility which thou alone canſt give me.

Divert, I pray thee, O Lord, thy heavy wrath juſtly hanging over thoſe populous Cities, whoſe plenty is prone to adde fewel to their luxury, their wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes tempting them to ſecurity, and their ſecurity expoſing them to unexpected miſeries.

Give them eyes to ſee, hearts to conſider, wils to embrace, and courage to act thoſe things which belong to thy glory and the publick peace; leſt their calamity come upon them as an armed man.

Teach them that they cannot want enemies who abound in ſin, nor ſhall they be long undiſarmed and undeſtroied, who with a high hand perſiſting to fight againſt thee, and the clear convictions of their own conſciences, fight more againſt themſelves, then ever they did againſt me.

Their ſins expoſing them to thy Juſtice, their riches

riches to other injuries, their number to Tumults, and their tumults to confusion.

Though they have with much forwardnesse helped to destroy me, yet let not my fall be their ruin.

Let me not so much consider either what they have done, or have I suffered, (chiefly at first by them) as to forget to imitate my crucified Redeemer to plead their ignorance for their pardon; and in my dying extremities, to pray to thee, O Father, to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

The tears they have denied me in my saddest condition, give them grace to bestow upon themselves who the lesse they were for me, the more cause they have to weep for themselves.

O let not my blood be upon them and their Children, whome the fraud and faction of some, not the malice of all, have excited to crucifie me

But thou, O Lord, canst, and wilt (as thou didst my Redeemer) both exalt and perfect me by my sufferings, which have more in them of thy mercie, then of mans cruelty or thy own justice.

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27 *To the Prince of Wales.*

Son, if these Papers, with some others, wherein I have set down the private reflections of my Conscience, and my most impartial thoughts, touching the chief passages, which have been most remarkable or disputed in my late troubles come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly designed; they may be so far usefull to you, as to state your judgement aright in what hath passed, whereof, a pious is the best use can be made, and they may also give you some directions how to remedy the present distempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is some kinde of deceiving and lessening the injurie of my long restraint, when I finde my leisure and solitude have produced something worthy

of

of my self, and usefull to you; That neither you nor any other, may hereafter measure my Cause by the Successe; nor my Judgement of things by my misfortunes; which I count the greater by far, because they have so far lighted upon you, and some others, whom I have most cause to love as well as my self; and of whose unmerited sufferings I have a greater sense then of mine own.

But this advantage of wisdom you have above most Princes; that you have begun and now spent some years of discretion, in the experience of troubles, and exercise of patience, wherein Piety, and all Vertues, both Morall and political are commonly better planted to a thriving, (as trees set in winter) then in the warmth, and serenity of times; or amidst those delights, which usually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty; which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Vertue and Honour; or to be contented onely with some leaves, and withering formalities of them, without any real fruits, such as tend to the Publike good; for which Princes should alwayes remember they are born, and by providence designed.

The evidence of which different education the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David and Rehoboam*. The one prepared, by many afflictions for a flourishing Kingdom, the other softned by the unparaleld prosperity of *Solomons* Court; and so corrupted to the great diminution, both for peace, Honor, and Kingdom, by those flatteries, which are as unseparable from prosperous Princes, as flies are from fruit in summer, whom adversity, like could weather drives away.

I had rather you should be *Charls le Bon*, then *le grand*, good then great: I hope God hath designed you to be both, having so early put you into that exercise of his Graces, and gifts bestowed upon you, which may best weed out all vitious inclinations, and dispose you to those Princely endowments, and employments, which will most gain the love, and intend the welfare of those, over whom God shall place you.

With

With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings; the Soveraign disposer of the Kingdoms of the world, who pulleth down one, and setteth up another.

The best Government, and highest Sovereignty you can attain to is, to be Subject to him; that the Sceptre of his word and Spirit may rule in your heart.

The true glory of Princes consists in the advanting of Gods glory in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churches good; Also in the dispensation of civil Power, with justice and Honour to the Publick Peace.

Piety will make you prosperous; at least it will keep you from being miserable; nor is he much a loser, that loseth all, yet saveth his own soul at last.

To which center of true Happinesse, God I trust hath and will graciously direct all these black lines of affliction, which he hath been pleased to draw on me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawn me nearer to himself. You have already tasted of that cup whereof I have liberally drunk, which I look upon as *Gods* Physick, having that in healthfulnesse which it wants in pleasure.

Above all, I would have you, as I hope you are already; well grounded and setled in your Religion: The best profession of which I have ever esteemed that of the Church of *England*, in which you have been educated: Yet I would have your own judgement and reason now seal to that sacred bond which education hath written, that it may be judiciously your own Religion, and not other mens custom or tradition which you professe.

In this I charge you to persevere, as coming nearest to Gods Word for Doctrine, and to the Primitive examples for Government, with some little amendment, which I have otherwhere expressed and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be more necessary for your souls then your Kingdoms peace, when God shall bring you to them.

For I have observed that the Devil of Rebellion,

lion, doth commonly turn himself into an Angel of Reformation; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights; when some mens Consciences accuse them for Sedition and Faction, they stop its mouth with the name and noise of Religion; when Piety pleads for Peace and Patience, they cry out zeal.

So that unlesse in this point you be well setled, you shall never want temptations to destroy you and yours, under pretensions of Reforming matters of Religion; for that seems, even to worst men as the best and most auspicious beginning of their worst designes.

Where besides the Noveltie which is taking enough with the Vulgar, every one hath an affectation, by seeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion to be thought zealous, hoping to cover those irreligious deformities, whereto we are conscious by a severity of censuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of aberring any Factions, or applying to any Publick Discriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in your Judgement, and the Church well setled; your partial adhering, as head, to any one side, gains you not so great advantages in some mens hearts (who are prone to be of their Kings Religion) as it loseth you in others; who think themselves, and their profession, first despised, then persecuted by you: Take such a course as may either with calmnesse and charity quite remove the seeming differences and offences by impartiality, or so order affairs in point of Power that you shall not need to fear or flatter any Faction. For if ever you stand in need of them, or must stand to their courtesie, you are undone: The Serpent will devour the Dove; you may never expect lesse of loyaltie, justice, or humanity, then from those who engage into Religious Rebellion; Their interest is alwayes made Gods; under the colour of piety, ambitious policies march, not onely with greatest security, but applause, as to the populasy; you may hear from

from them *Jacobs* voice, but you shall feel they have *Esaus* hands.

Nothing seemed lesse considerable then the Presbyterian Faction in *England*: for many yeers; so compliant they were to publick order: nor indeed was their Party great either in Church or State, as to mens judgements: But as soon as discontents drave men into sidings (as ill humours fall to the disaffected parr, which causes inflammations) so did all at first, who affected any novelries, adhere to that side, as the most remarkable and specious note of difference, then, in point of Religion.

All the lesser Factions at first were officious Servants to Presbytery their great Master: till time and military successe discovering to each their peculiar advantages invited them to part stakes, and leaving the joynt stock of uniform Religion, pretended each to drive for their Party the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not onely of the Church and State, but even of Presbytery it self, which seemed and hoped at first to have engrossed all.

Let nothing seem little or despicable to you in matters which concern Religion and the Churches peace, so as to neglect a speedy reforming and effectual suppressing errours and Schisms, which seem at first but as a hand breadth, by seditious Spirits, as by strong windes are soon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have done justice to God, your own soul and his Church, in the profession and preservation both of truth and unity in Religion: the next main hinge on which your prosperity will depend, and move, is, that of civil Justice, wherein the setled Laws of those Kingdoms, to which you are rightly Heir, are the most excellent rules you can govern by; which by an admirable temperament give very much to Subjects industry, liberty, and happinesse; and yet reserve enough to the Majesty and Prerogative of any King, who owns his people as Subjects, not as Slaves, whose subjection, as it preserves their property, peace,

peace and safety, so it will never diminish your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties; which consists in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry, and the benefit of those Laws to which themselves have consented.

Never charge your head with such a Crown, as shall by its heavinesse oppresse the whole body, the weaknesse of whose parts cannot return any thing of strength, honour, or safety to the Head, but a necessary debilitation and ruin.

Your prerogative is best shewed & exercised in remitting rather then exacting the rigor of the laws; there being nothing worse then legal Tyranny.

In these two points, the preservation of established Religion and Laws, I may (without vanity) turn the reproach of my sufferings, as to the worlds censure, into the honour of a kinde of Martyrdom, as to the testimony of my own Conscience; Troublers of my Kingdoms having nothing else to object against me but this: That I prefer Religion and Law, established before those alterations they propounded.

And so indeed I do, and ever shall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, then what hitherto have been chiefly used towards me, Tumults, Armies, and Prisons.

I cannot yet learn that lesson, nor I hope ever will you, That it is safe for a King to gratifie any faction with the perturbation of the laws in which is wrapt up the publick Interest, and the good of the Community.

How God will deal with me, as to the removal of these pressures, and indignities, which his justice by the very unjust hands of some of my Subjects hath been pleased to lay upon me, I cannot tell: nor am I much solicitous what wrong I suffer from men, while I retain in my soul, what I believe is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safety, that in Reason, Honour, and Conscience I can; reserving onely what I cannot consent unto without an irreparable injury to my own soul, the Church, and my People, and to you also, as the next and undoubted Heir of my Kingdoms.

To which if the divine Providence to whom no difficulties are insuperable, shall in his due time after my decease bring you, as I hope he will: my counsel and charge to you, is, That you seriously consider the former, real, or objected miscarriages, which might occasion my troubles, that you may avoid them.

Never repose so much upon any mans single counsel, fidelity, and discretion, in managing affairs of the first magnitude (that is, matters of Religion and Justice) as to create in your self, or others, a diffidence of your own judgement, which is likely to be alwayes more constant and impartial to the interests of your own Crown and Kingdom then any mans.

Next, beware of exasperating any Factions by the crosnesse, and asperity of some mens passions, humours, or private opinions, imployed by you, grounded onely upon the differences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and suburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Christian toleration often dissipates their strength, whom rougher opposition fortifies; and puts the despised and oppressed party, into such Combinations, as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their Persecutors, who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration, which attends all, that are said to suffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided the differences amount not to an insolent opposition of Laws, and Government, or Religion assembled, as to the essentials of them, such motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwayes keep up solid Piety, and those fundamental Truths (which mend both hearts and lives of men) with impartial favour and justice.

Take heed that outward circumstances and formalities of Religion devour not all, or the best incouragements of learning, industry, and piety; but with an equal eye, and impartial hand, distribute favours and rewards to all men, as you finde them for their real goodnesse both in abili-

ties

lities and fidelity worthy and capable of them.

This will be sure to gain you the hearts of the best, and the most too: who, though they be not good themselves, yet are glad to see the severer wayes of vertue at any time sweetned by temporal rewards.

I have, you see, conflicted with different and oppositе Factions; (for so I must needs call and count all those, that act not in any conformity to the Laws established, in Church and State) no sooner have they by force subdued what they counted their Common Enemy, that is, all those that adhered to the Laws, and to me, and are secured from that fear, but they are divided to so high a rivalry, as sets them more at defiance against each other, then against their first Antagonists.

Time will dissipate all Factions, when once the rough horns of private mens covetous and ambitious designes, shall discover themselves; which were at first wrapt up and hidden under the soft and smooth pretensions of Religion, Reformation, and Liberty: As the Wolf is not lesse cruel, so he will be more justly hated, when he shall appear no better then a Wolf under Sheeps cloathing.

But as for the seduced train of the Vulgar, who in their simplicity follow these disguises; my charge and counsel to you, is, That as you need no palliations for any designes, as other men, so you study really to exceed, in true and constant demonstrations of goodnesse, piety, and vertue, towards the people, even all those men that make the greatest noise and ostentation of Religion, so you shall neither fear any detection (as they do, who have but the face and mask of goodnesse) nor shall you frustrate the just expectations of your people; who cannot in reason, promise themselves so much good from any Subjects novelties, as from the vertuous constancy of their King.

When these mountains of congealed Factions shall by the Sun-shine of Gods mercy, and the splen-

splendour of your vertues be thawed and diffi-
pated; and the abused Vulgar have learned,
that none are greater Oppressours of their Estates,
Liberties and Consciences, then those men, that
entitle themselves, The Patrons and Vindicatours
of them, onely to usurp power over them; Let
not no Passion betray you to any study of re-
venge upon those whose own sin and folly will
sufficiently punish them in due time.

But as soon as the forked arrow of Factious
emulations is drawn out, use all Princely arts, and
clemency to heal the wound; that the smart of
the cure may not equal the anguish of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indemnity, and Ob-
livion, to so great a latitude, as may include
all, that can but suspect themselves to be any
way obnoxious to the Laws, and which might
serve to exclude all future Jealousies and inscou-
rities.

I would have you alwayes propense to the same
way when ever it shall be desired, and accept-
ed. let it be granted, not onely as an Act of State-
policie, and necessity, but Christian charity and
mercy.

It is all I have now left me, a power to forgive
those that have deprived me of all: and I thank
God I have a heart to do it; and joy as much in
this grace which God hath given me, as in all
my former enjoyments; for this is a greater argu-
ment of Gods love to me, then my prosperity
can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the most of all sides,
who have done amisse, have done so, not out of
malice, but mis-information or mis-apprehension
of things.

None will be more loyal and faithfull to Me
and You, then those Subjects, who sensible of
their Errours, and our Injuries, will feel in
their own Souls most vehement motives to re-
pentance, and earnest desire to make some repara-
tions for their former defects.

As your quality sets You beyond any Duel with
any Subject, so the nobleness of Your minde

must

must raise you above the meditating any revenge, or executing your anger upon the many.

The more conscious you shall be to your own merits, upon your People, the more prone you will be to expect all love and loyaltie from them; and to inflict no punishment upon them for former miscarriages: you will have more inward complacency in pardoning one then in punishing a thousand.

This I write to you, not despairing of Gods mercie, and my Subjects affections towards you; both which I hope you will study to deserve, yet we cannot merit of God, but by his own mercy.

If God shall see fit to restore me, and you after me, to those enjoyments, which the Laws have assigned to us, and no Subjects without an high degree of guilt and sin can devest us of: then may I have better opportunity, when I shall be so happy to see you in peace, to let you more fully understand the things that belong to Gods Glory, your own Honour, and the Kingdoms peace.

But if you never see my face again, and God will have me buried in such a barbarous Imprisonment and obscuritie (which the perfecting some mens designes require) wherein few hearts that love me are permitted to exchange a word or a look with me; I do require and entreat you as your Father, and your KING that you never suffer your heart to receive the least check against, or disaffection from the true Religon established in the Church of *England*.

I tell you I have tried it, and after much search and many disputes, have concluded it to be the best in the world; not onely in the Communitie, as a Christian, but also in the speciall notion, as Reformed; keeping the middle way between the Pomp of superstitious Tyranny, and the meannesse of fantastick Anarchy.

Not but that, the draught being excellent as it is, the

the main, both for Doctrine and Government in the Church of *England*) some lines, as in very good figures, may happily need some sweetening or polishing; which might here have easily been done by a safe and gentle hand; If some mens precipitancy had not violently demanded such rude alterations, as would have quite destroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The scandal of the late Troubles, which some may object, and urge to you against the Protestant Religion established in *England*, is easily answered to them, or your own thoughts in this, That scarce any one who hath been a Beginner, or an active Prosecuter of this late War against the Church, the Laws and me, either way, or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Practiser of the protestant Religion, established in *England*: which neither gives such Rules, nor ever before set such Examples.

Tis true, some heretofore had the boldnesse to present threatening petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the same Faction (but of worse Spirits) have now put in execution: but let not counterfeit and disorderly Zeal abate Your value and esteem of true piety, both of them are to be known by their fruits; the sweetnesse of the Vine and Fig-tree is not to be despised, though the Brambles and Thorns should pretend to bear Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the trees.

Nor would I have you to entertain any overfatil, or dislike of Parliaments; which in their right constitution with Freedom and Honour will never injure or diminish your greatnes, but will rather be the Interchangings of love, loyalty, and confidence, between a Prince and his People.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have been other then such (however much misled by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preserved from the insolencies of popular Mobbs, and Tumultuary impressions: The sad effects of which will no doubt, make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preserve that

Freedom and Honour, which belongs to such Assemblies, when once they have fully shaken off this yoke of Vulgar encroachment, since the publike interests consists in the mutual and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happy for all, then in fair, grave, and Honourable wayes to contribute their counsels in Common, enacting all things by publike consent; without Tyranny or Tumults. We must not starve our selves, because some men have surfeited of wholsom food.

And if neither I nor you be ever restored to our Rights, but God in his severest justice, will punish my Subjects with continuance in their sin, and suffer them to be deluded with the prosperity of their wickednesse: I hope God will give me and you, that grace, which will teach and enable us to want, as well as to wear a Crown, which is not worth taking up, or injoying upon sordid, dishonourable, and irreligious terms.

Keep you to true principles of piety, vertue, and honour; you shall never want a kingdom.

A principal point of your honour will consist in your preferring all respect, love, and protection to your Mother, my Wife; who hath many wayes deserved well of me, and chiefly in this, that, having been a means to blesse me with so many hopefull Children; all which, with their Mother, I recommend to your love, and care, She hath been content with incomparable maganimity and patience to suffer both for, and with me, and you.

My prayer to God Almighty is, what ever becomes of me, who am, I thank God, wrapt up and fortified in mine own Innocency, and his Grace, that he would be pleased to make you an Anchour, or Harbour rather, to these tossed and weather-beaten kingdoms; a Repairer by your wisdom, justice, piety, and valour, of what, the folly and wickednesse of some men have so lat ruined, as to leave nothing entire in Church or State; to the Crown, the Nobilitie, the Clergy, or the Commons, either as to Laws, Liberties, Estates, Order, Honour, Conscience, or Lives.

Who-

When they have destroyed me, (for I know not how far God may permit the malice and cruelty of my enemies to proceed, and such apprehensions some mens words and actions have already given me) as I doubt not but my blood will cry aloud for vengeance to heaven; so I beseech God not to pour out his wrath upon the generality of the People, who have either deserted me, or engaged against me through the artifice and hypocrisie of their leaders, whose inward horrour will be their first Tormentour, nor will they escape exemplary judgements.

For those that loved me, I pray God, they may have no misse of me, when I am gone; so much I wish and hope; that all good Subjects may be satisfied with the blessings of your presence and vertues.

For those that repent of any defects in their duty toward me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian King; so I beleeve you will finde them truly Zealous, to repay with interest that loyalty and love to you, which was due to me.

In sum, what good I intended, do you perform, when God shall give you power: much good I have offered, more I purposed to Church & State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will soon vanish, and the Vizards will fall off apace: This mask of Religion on the face of Rebellion (or so it now plainly appears, since my restraint and cruel usage, that they fought not for me, as was pretended) will not long serve to hide some mens deformities.

Happy times I hope attend you, wherein your Subjects, by their miseries, will have learned That Religion to their God, and Loyalty to their King cannot be parted without both their sin and their infelicity.

I pray God blesse you, and establish your Kingdoms in righteousnesse, Your Soul in true Religion, and your Honour in the love of God and your People.

And if God will have disloyalty punished by

my destruction; let my memory ever, With my name, live in you; as of your Father that loves you: and once a King of three flourishing Kingdoms; whom God thought fit to honour, not onely with the Scepter and Government of them, but also with the suffering many indignities, and an untimely death for them; while I studied, to preserve the rights of the Church, the power of the Laws, the honour of my Crown, the privilege of Parliaments, the liberties of my People, and my own Conscience, which, I thank God, is dearer to me then a thousand Kingdoms.

I know God can, I hope he will restore me to my Rights, I cannot despair either of his mercy or of my Peoples love and pity.

At worst, I trust I shall but go before you to a better Kingdom, which God hath prepared for me, and me for it, through my Saviour Jesus Christ, to whose mercies I commend you and all mine.

Farewell, till we meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

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28 *Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addresses, and his Majesties closer Imprisonment in* Carisbrook-Castle.

As I have leisure enough, so I have cause more then enough, to meditate upon, and prepare for my death: for I know there are but few steps between the Prisons and Graves of Princes.

It is Gods indulgence, which giveth me the space; but mans cruelty, that giveth me the sad occasions for these thoughts.

For besides the common burthen of mortality, which lies upon me, as a Man; I now bear the heavy load of other mens ambitions, fears, jealousies, and cruel passions, whose envy or enmity

against me makes their own lives seem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of mine.

I thank God, my prosperity made me not wholly a stranger to the contemplations of mortality.

Those are never unseasonable, since this is always uncertain: Death being an Eclipse, which oft happeneth as well in clear, as cloudy dayes.

But my now long and sharp adversity hath so reconciled in me those natural Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men, that I thank God, the common terrours of it are dispelled; and the special horrour of it as to my particular, much allayed: for, although my death at present may justly be represented to me with all those terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruel and implacable enemies can put upon it, (all its being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I blesse God, I can look upon all those things, as unpoysonous, though sharp: since my Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given me the antidote of his death against them; which as to the immaturity, unjustice, shame, scorn, and cruelty of it exceeded, whatever I can fear.

Indeed, I never did finde so much, the life of Religion, the feast of a good Conscience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and constancy, as since I came to these closet contests with the thoughts of Death.

I am not so old, as to be weary of life, nor (I hope) so bad, as to be either afraid to die, or ashamed to live: true, I am so afflicted, as might make me sometime even desire to die, if I did not consider, That it is the greatest glory of a Christian life to *die daily*, in conquering by a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life, those partial and quotidian deaths which kill us (as it were) by pieceмeals, and make us outlive our own fates; while we are deprived of health, honour, liberty, power, credit, safety, or others, and those other comforts of dearest relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though as a King, I think my self so live in no-

thing temporal so much, as in the love and good-will of my People; for which, as I have suffered many deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithstanding, my Enemies have used all the poyson of falsity and violence of hostility to destroy, first the Love and Loyalty, which is in my Subjects; and then all that content of life in me, which from these I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed they have left me but little of life, and onely the husk and shell, as it were, which their further malice and cruelty can take from me; having bereaved me of all those worldly comforts, for which life it self seems desirable to men.

But, O my Soul! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to do, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnanimity in a good Cause, as are the greatest honour of our lives, and the best improvement of our deaths.

I know that in point of true Christian valour, it argues pusillanimity to desire to die, out of weariness of life; and a want of that heroick greatness of spirit which becomes a Christian in the patient and generous sustaining those afflictions, which as shadows necessarily attend us, while we are in this body, and which are lessened or enlarged; as the Sun of our prosperity moves, higher or lower: whose total absence is best recompensed with the Dew of Heaven.

The assaults of affliction may be terrible, like *Samsons* Lion, but they yeeld much sweetness to those that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds without discontent or peevishness, while they may yet converse with God.

That I must die as a Man, is certain: that I may die a King, by the hands of my own Subjects, a violent, sudden, and barbarous death, in the strength of my years, in the midst of my Kingdoms, my Friends, and loving Subjects being helpless Spectatours, my Enemies insolent Revilers and Triumphers over Me, living, dying, and dead, is so probable in humane reason, that

God

God hath taught me not to hope otherwise, as of mans cruelty: however, I despair not of Gods infinite mercy.

I know my life is theobject of the *Devils* and wicked mens malice, but yet under Gods sole custody and disposal; whom I do not think to flatter for longer life by seeming prepared to die: but I humbly desire to depend upon him, and to submit to his will both in life and death, in what order soever he is pleased to lay them out to me. I confesse it is not easie for me to contend with those many horrors of death, wherewith God suffers me to be tempted, which are equally horrid, either in the suddennes of a barbarous Assassination; or in those greater formalities whereby my Enemies, being more solemnly cruel, will it may be, seek to adde, as those did, who crucified Christ, the mockery of justice, to the cruelty of malice: That I may be destroyed, as with greater pomp and artifice, so with lesse pity, it will be but a necessary policy to make my death appear as an act of Justice, done by Subjects upon their Sovereign, who know that no *Law* of God, or Man invests them with any power of Judicature without me, much lesse against me: and who, being sworn and bound by all that is sacred before God and man, to endeavour my preservation, must pretend Justice to cover their perjury.

It is indeed, a sad fate for any man to have his Enemies to be Accusers, Parties, and Judges; but most desperate, when this is acted by the insolence of Subjects against their Sovereign: wherein those who have had the chiefest hand, and are most guilty of contriving the publick Troubles, must by shedding my blood, seem to wash their own hands of that innocent blood, whereof they are most evidently guilty before God and man: and, I believe, in their own consciences too; while they carried on unreasonable demands, first by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing makes mean spirits more cowardly-cruel in managing their usurped power against their lawful Superiours than this, the *Guilt of their ex-*

just imputation, notwithstanding those specious and popular pretensions of justice against Delinquents, applied onely to disguise at first the monstrousnesse of their designes, who despaired, indeed, of possessing the power and profits of the vine-yard, till the Heir, whose right it is, be cast out and slain.

With them, my greatest fault must be, that I would not either destroy my self with the Church and State by my Word, or not suffer them to do it manifested by the Sword; whose covetous ambition no Concessions of mine could ever yet satisfie or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever think that Kingdom of brambles, which some men seem to erect (at once weak, sharp, and fruitlesse, either to God or man) is like to thrive till watered with the Royal blood of those, whose right the Kingdom is.

Well, Gods will be done, I doubt not but my Innocency will finde him both my Protectour, and my Advocate, who is my onely Judge, whom I own as King of Kings, not onely for the eminency of his power and Majesty above them; but also for that singular care and protection, which he hath over them: who knows them to be exposed to as many dangers (being the greatest Patrones of Law, justice, Order, and Religion on earth) as there be either Men or Devils, which love confusion.

Nor will he suffer those men long to prosper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones and cement it with the blood of their Kings.

I am confident they will finde Avengers of my death among themselves: the injuries I have sustained from them shall be first punished by them, who agreed in nothing so much as in opposing me.

Their impatience to hear the loud cry of my blood, shall make them think no way better to expiate it, then by shedding theirs, who with them, most thirsted after mine.

The sad confusions following my destruction are already presaged and confirmed to me by those that I have lived to see since my troubles.

In

in which, God alone (who onely could) hath many wayes pleaded my cause not suffering them to go unpunished, whose confederacy in sin was their onely security; who have cause to feare that God will both further divide, and by mutual vengeance, afterward destroy them.

My greatest conquest of Death is from the power and love of Christ, who hath swallowed up death in the victory of his Resurrection and the glory of his Ascension.

My next comfort is, that he gives me not onely the honour to imitate his example in suffering for righteousnesse sake, (though obscured by the foulest charges of Tyranny and Injustice) but also, that charity, which is the noblest revenge upon, and victory of my Destroyers: By which, I thank God, I can both forgive them, and pray for them, that God would not impute my blood to them further then to convince them, what need they have of Christs blood to wash their souls from the guilt of shedding mine.

At present, the will of my Enemies seems to be their onely Rule, their power the Measure, and their successe the Exactour, of what they please to call Justice; while they flatter themselves with the fancy of their own safety by my danger, and the security of their lives and designes by my Death: forgetting, that as the greatest temptations to sin are wrapped up in seeming prosperities; so the severest vengeances of God are then most accomplished, when men are suffered to compleate their wicked purposes.

I bleſſe God, I pray not so much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may passe from me, as that of his wrath may passe from all those, whose hands by deserting me are sprinkled, or by acting and consenting to my death are imbrued with my blood.

The will of God hath confined and concluded mine; I shall have the pleasure of dying without any pleasure of desired vengeance.

This, I think becomes a Christian toward his Enemies, and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive me of more then I am content to loſe, when God ſees fit by their hands to take it from me; whoſe mercy I believe will more then infinitely recompence what ever by mans injuſtice he is pleaſed to deprive me of.

The glory attending my death will far ſurpaſſe all I could enjoy, or conceive in life.

I ſhall not want the heavy and envied Crowns of this world, when my God hath mercifully crowned and conſummated his graces with glory; and exchanged the ſhadows of my earthly Kingdoms among men, for the ſubſtance of that heavenly Kingdom with himſelf.

For the cenſures of the world; I know the ſharp and neceſſary tyranny of my deſtroyers will ſufficiently confute the calumnies of tyranny againſt me; I am perſwaded I am happy in the judicious love of the ableſt and beſt of my Subjects, who do not openly pity and pray for me, but would be content even to die with me, or for me.

Theſe know how to excuſe my failings, as a man; and yet to retain and pay their duty me as their King; there being no religious neceſſity binding any Subjects by pretending to puniſh, infinitely to exceed, the faults and errours of their Princes: eſpecially there, where more and ſufficient ſatisfaction hath been made to the publick; the enjoyment of which, private ambitions hath hitherto fruſtrated.

Others I believe, of ſofter tempers, and leſſe advantaged by my ruine, do already feel ſharp convictions, and ſome remorſe in their conſciences; where they cannot but ſee the proportions of their evil dealings againſt me in the meaſure of Gods retaliations upon them; who cannot hope long to enjoy their own thumbs and toes, having under pretence of paring others nails been ſo cruel as to cut off their cheefeſt ſtrength.

The puniſhment of the more inſolent and obſtinate may be like that of *Korah* and his Complices (at once mutining againſt both Prince and Prieſt) in ſuch a method of divine Juſtice, as is not ordinary; the earth of the loweſt and meaneſt people

people opening upon them, and swallowing them up in a just disdain of their ill-gotten and worse-used Authority: upon whose support and strength they cheifly depended for their building and establishing their designes against me, the Church, and State.

My chiefest comfort in death consists in my peace, which I trust, is made with God; before whose exact Tribunal I shall not fear to appear, as to the cause so long disputed by the Sword, between me and my causelesse enemies: where I doubt not, but his righteous judgement will censure their fallacy, who from worldly successe (rather like Sophisters, then sound Christans) draw those popular conclusions for Gods approbation of their actions; whose wise providence we know oft permits many events, which his revealed Word (the onely clare, safe, and fixed rule of good actions and good consciences) in no sort approves.

I am confident the Justice of my Cause, and clearnesse of my Conscience before God and toward my people will carrie me, as much above them in Gods decision, as their successes have lifted them above me in the Vulgar opinions who consider not, that, many times, those undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the prosperitie and applause of the world, whose rise is from Hell, as to the injuriousnesse and oppression of the design. The prosperous winds which oft fill the sails of Pirats, doth not justifie their piracie and rapine.

I look upon it, with infinit more content and quiet of Soul, to have been worsted in my enforced contestation for, and vindication of the Laws of the Land, the Freedom and Honour of Parliaments, the Rights of my Crown, the just Liberty of my Subjects, and the true Christian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, then if I had, with the greatest advantages of successe, overborn them all; as some men have now evidently done, whatever designes they at first pretended.

The prayers and patience of my Friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the sweetning of this bitter cup, which I doubt not but I shall more chearfully take and drink as from Gods hand (if it must be so) then they can give it to me, whose hands are unjustly and barbarously lifted up against me.

And as to the last event, I may seem to ow more to my enemies then my Friends; while those will put a period to the sins and sorrows attending this miserable life, wherewith those desire, I might still contend.

I shall be more then Conquerour through Christ enabling me; for whom I have hitherto suffered; as He is the Author of Truth, Order, and peace, for all which, I have been forced to contend against Errour, Faction, and confusion.

If I must suffer a violent death, with my Saviour, it is but Morrality crowned with Martyrdom: where the debt of death which I ow for sin, to nature shall be raised, as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept, and, although death be the wages of my own sin, as from God, and the effect of other sins, as men, both against God and me; yet, as I hope, my own sins are so remitted that they shall be no ingredience to imbitter the cup of my death, so I desire God to pardon their sins, who are most guiltie of my destruction.

The Trophees of my charitie will be more glorious and durable over them, then their ill-managed victories over me.

Though their sin be prosperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned; both which, I pray God they may obtain: that my temporal death unjustly inflicted by them, may not be revenged by Gods just inflicting eternal death upon them: for I look upon the temporal destruction of the greatest King, as far lesse deprecable, then the eternal damnation of the meanest Subject.

Nor do I wish other, then the safe bringing of the

the ship to shore, when thy have cast me overboard; though it be very strange, that Mariners can finde no other means to appease y storm themselves have raised, but by drowning their pilot.

I thank God my enemies cruelty cannot prevent my preparation; whose malice in this I shall defeat, that they shall not have the satisfaction to have destroyed my Soul with my Body; of whose salvation, while some of them have themselves seemed, and taught others to despair, they have onely discovered this, that they do not much desire it.

Whose uncharitable and cruel Restraints, denying me even the assistance of any of my Chaplains, hath rather enlarged, then any way obstructed my accesse to the Throne of Heaven.

WHere thou dwellest, O King of Kings, who fillest Heaven & Earth; who art y fountain of eternal life in whom is no shadow of death.

Thou O God art both the just Afflicter of death upon us; and the merciful Saviour of us in it, and from it.

Yea, it is better for us to be dead to our selves, and live in thee; then by living in our selves to be deprived of thee.

O make the many bitter aggravations of my death as a Man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy special graces and comforts in my Soul as a Christian

If thou Lord wilt be with me, I shall neither fear nor feel any evil, though I walk thorow the valley of the shadow of death.

To contend with death is the work of a weak and mortal man; to overcome it, is the grace of thee alone, who art the Almighty and Immortal God.

O my Saviour, who knowest what it is to die with me, as a man; make me to know what it is to passe thorow death to live with thee my God.

Though I die, yet I know that thou my Redeemer livest for ever: though thou slayest me, yet thou hast encouraged me to trust in thee for eternal life.

O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better then life.

O be not far from me for I know not how neer a violent and cruel death is to me.

As thy Omniſcience, O God, diſcovers, ſo thy Omnipotence can defeat the deſignes of thoſe, who have, or ſhall conſpire my deſtruction.

O ſhew me the goodneſſe of thy will, through the wickedneſſe of theirs.

Thou giveſt me leave as a man to pray, that this cup may paſſe from me; but thou haſt taught me as a Chriſtian by the example of Chriſt to adde, not my will but thine be done.

Yea Lord, let our wills be done, by wholly reſolving mine into thine: let not the deſire of life in me be ſo great, as that of doing or ſuffering thy will in either life or death.

As I believe thou haſt forgiven all the errours of my life, ſo I hope thou wilt ſave me from the terrours of my death.

Make me content to leave the worlds nothing, that I may come really to enjoy all in thee, who haſt made Chriſt unto me in life, gain; and in death, advantage.

Though my deſtroyers forget their dutie to thee and me; yet do not thou, O Lord, forget to be merciful to them.

For, what profit is there in my blood, or in their gaining my Kingdoms, if they loſe their own Soules?

Such as have not onely reſiſted my juſt Power, but wholly uſurped and turned it againſt my ſelf, though they may deſerve, yet let them not receive to themſelves damnation.

Thou madeſt thy Son a Saviour to many that Crucified him, while at once he ſuffered violently by them, and yet willingly for them.

O let the voice of his blood be heard for my murtherers, louder then the crie of mine againſt them.

Prepare them for thy mercy by due convictions of their ſin, and let them not at once deceive and damn their own Souls by fallacious pretenſions of ju-

Justice in destroying me, while the conscience of their unjust usurpation of power against me chiefly temtps them to use all extremities against me.

O Lord, thou knowest I have found their mercies to me as very false, so very cruel; who pretending to preserve me, have meditated nothing but my ruin.

O deal not with them as blood-thirsty and deceitfull men; but overcome their crueltie with thy compassion and my charity.

And when thou makest inquisition for my blood O sprinkle their polluted, yet penitent Souls with the blood of thy Son, that thy destroying Angel may passe over them.

Though they think my Kingdoms on earth too little to entertain at once both them and me, yet let the capacious Kingdom of thy infinite mercie at last receive both me and mine enemies:

When being reconciled to thee in the blood of the same Redeemer, we shall live far above these ambitious desires, which beget such mortal enmities.

When their hands shall be heaviest, and cruellest upon me, O let me fall into the arms of thy tender and eternall mercies.

That what is cut of my life in this miserable moment, may be repaied in thy ever blessed Eternity.

Lord let thy servant depart in peace, for my eies have seen thy Salvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt:

Ω

O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better then life.

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Ω

HIS MAJESTIES PRAYERS in the time of his RESTRAINT.

A Prayer in time of Captivity.

Powerful and Eternal God! to whom nothing is so great, y it may resist, or so small that it is contemned; look upon My Miserie with Thine eye of mercy, and let Thine infinite Power vouchsafe to limit out some proportion of deliverance unto Me, as to Thee shall seem most convenient; let not Injurie, O Lord, triumph over Me; and let My faults by Thy hand be corrected; and make not My unjust enemies the ministers of thy Justice: But yet My God, if in Thy wisdom this be the aptest chastisement for My unexcusable transgressions; if this ingrateful bondage be fittest for My over-high desires; if the pride of My (not enough humble) heart be thus to be broken, O Lord, I yield to Thy will, and cheerfully embrace what sorrow Thou wilt have Me suffer: Onely thus much let Me crave of Thee. (Let My craving, O Lord, be accepted of, since it even proceeds from Thee) that by Thy goodnesse which is Thy self, Thou wilt suffer some beam of Thy Majestie so to shine in My minde that I, who acknowledge it My Noblest Title to be Thy Creature may still depend confidently on Thee in My greatest Afflictions. Let Calamitie be the exercise but not the

overthrow

overthrow of my Person. O let not their prevailing power be to my destruction. And if it be thy will that they more and more vex Me with punishment; yet, O Lord, never let their wickedness have such a hand, but that I may still carry a pure mind, and stedfast resolution ever to serve Thee, without fear or presumption, yet with that humble Confidence which may best please Thee; so that at the last I may come to thine eternal Kingdom, through the Merits of Thy Son our alone Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

A Prayer and Confession made in and for the times of affliction.

ALmighty and most mercifull Father, as it it is onely thy goodnesse that admits of Our imperfect Prayers, and the knowledge that Thy mercies are infinite, which can give us any hope of Thy accepting, or granting them; so it is our bounden and necessary duty to confesse our sins freely unto Thee, and of all men living, I have most need, most reason, so to do, no man having been so much obliged by Thee, no man more grievously offending Thee; that degree of knowledge which Thou hast given Me, adding likewise to the guilt of my Transgressions. For was it through ignorance, that I suffered innocent blood to be shed, by a false pretended way of Justice? or that I permitted a wrong way of Thy Worship, to be set up in *Scotland*? and enjoyned the Bishops in *England*? O no; but with shame and grief I confesse, that I therein followed the perswasions of worldly wisdom, forsaking the Dictates of a right informed Conscience; Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuse to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of Thy mercies; for I know My repentance weak, and My Prayers faulty: Grant therefore mercifull Father, so to strengthen My repentance, and amend My prayers: that Thou maiest clear the way for Thine own mercies. To which O let Thy Justice at last give place, putting a speedy end to my deserved afflictions. In the mean time, give me Pa-

tience

tience to endure. Constancy against Temptations, and a discernig spirit to choose what is best for thy Church and People which thou hast committed to my Charge. Grant this, O most mercifull Father, for thy Son Jesus Christs sake, our onely Saviour. *Amen.*

A Prayer in time of imminent Danger.

O Most mercifull Father, though My sins are so many and grievous, that I may rather expect the effects of Thy Anger, then so great a deliverence, as to free Me from My present great danger; yet, O Lord, since Thy mercies are over all thy works, and Thou never failest to relieve all those who with humble and unfeigned repentance come to Thee for Succour, it were to multiply, not diminish My transgressions to despair of Thy heavenly Favour: wherefore I humbly desire Thy Divine Majesty, that Thou wilt not onely Pardon all My sins, but also free Me out of the hands and protect Me from the malice of My cruel Enemies. But if Thy wrath against My hainous Offences will nor otherwayes be satisfied, then by suffering Me to fall under My present afflictions, Thy will be done; yet with humble Importunity, I do and shall never leave to implore the assistance of Thy heavenly Spirit, that My cause, as I am Thy Vicegerent may not suffer through My weakness, or want of courage, O Lord, so strengthen and enlighten all the Faculties of My minde, that with clearnesse I may shew forth Thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloody Tryal, that so my My sufferings here may not onely glorifie Thee, but likewise be a furtherance to My salvation hereafter. Grant this O merciful Father, for his sake who suffered for Me, even Jesus Christ the Righteous. *Amen.*

FINIS.

His MAJESTIES *Reasons against the pretended Jurisdiction of the* High Court of Justice, *which he intended to deliver in writing on Munday* January 22. *An. Dom.* 1648.

HAving already made my Protestations not onely against the Illegality of this pretended Court, but also that no earthly Power can justly call me (who am your KING) in question as a Delinquent, I would not any more open my mouth upon this occasion, more then to refer my self to what I have spoken, were I alone in this case concerned. But the duty I owe to God, in the preservation of the true liberty of my People, will not suffer me at this time to be silent: For how can any Free-born Subject of England call Life, or any thing he possesseth his own, if Power without Right daily make new, and abrogate the old fundamental Law of the Land? which I now take to be the present case. Wherefore when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavoured to have satisfied me concerning those grounds which hinder me to answer to your pretended Impeachment: but since I see that nothing I can say will move you to it (though Negatives are not so naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will shew you the Reason why I am confident you cannot judge me, nor indeed the meanest man in England: for, I will not, like you, without shewing a Reason seek to impose a belief upon my Subjects.

* *Hereabout,* * *I was stopt, and not suffered to speak any more concerning Ra-sons.*

* There is no proceeding just against any man, but what is warranted either by Gods Laws, or the municipal Laws of the Country where he lives. Now I am most confident, that this daves proceeding cannot be warranted by Gods Law. For on the contrary, the Authority of obedience unto Kings is clearly warranted and strictly commanded both in the Old and New Testament; which if denied, I am ready instantly to prove: and for the question now in hand, there it is said, That *where the word of a King is, there is Power, and who may say unto him, what doest thou?* Ecclesiastes 8. 4. Then for the Laws of this Land, I am so little

confident

confident, that no Learned Lawyer will affirm that an impeachment can lie against the King, they all going in His Name; and one of their Maxims is, *That the King can do no wrong.* Besides the Law upon which you ground your proceedings, must either be old, or new, if old, shew it; if new, tell what authority warranted by the fundamental Laws of the Land hath made it, and when. But how the House of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one itself (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the World to judge: And it were full as strange, that they should pretend to make Laws without KING or Lords House, to any that have heard speak of the Laws of *England*.

And admitting, but not granting, that the People of *Englands* Commission could grant your pretended power, I see nothing you can shew for that; for certainly you never asked the question of the tenth man of the Kingdom, and in this way you manifestly wrong even the poorest Plough-man, if you demand not his free consent: nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended Commission without the consent at least of the major part of every man in *England*, of whatsoever quality or condition, which I am sure you never went about to seek; so far are you from having it. Thus you see that I speak not for my own right alone, as I am your KING; but also for the true liberty of all My Subjects, which consists not in sharing the power of Government, but in living under such Laws, such a Government as may give themselves the best assurance of their lives and propriety of their goods. Nor in this must or do I forget the Priviledges of both Houses of Parliament, which this days proceeding doubtly onely violate, but likewise occasion the greatest breach of their Publick Faith that (I believe) ever was heard of, with which I am far from charging the two Houses: for all the pretended Crimes laid against Me, bear date here before this late Treaty at *Newport*, in which having concluded as much as in Me lay,

…y, and hopefully expecting the two Houses a-…tement thereunto, I was suddenly surprized, …d hurried from thence as a prisoner, upon which account I am against my will brought hi-…ther, where since I am come, I cannot but to my …power defend the ancient Laws and Liberties of …is Kingdom, together with my own just Right; …m for any thing I can see the higher House is …ally excluded.

And for the House of Commons, It is too well known that the major part of t em are detained or deterred from sitting, so as if I had no other, this were sufficient for me to protest against the lawfulnesse of your pretended Court. Besides all this, the peace of the Kingdom is not the least in my thoughts, and what hopes of setlement is there so long as P wer reigns without rule of Law, changing the whole frame of that Government under which this Kingdom hath flourished, for many hundred years, (not will I say what will fall out in case this lawlesse unjust proceedings against me do go on) and believe it, the Commons of England will no: thank you for th's change, for they will remember how happy they have been of late years under the reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, the KING my Father, and my self, until the beginning of these unhappy Troubles, and will have cause to doubt that they shall never be so happy under any new. And by this time it will be too sensibly evident that the arms I took up were only to defend the fundamental Laws of this kingdom against those who have supposed my power hath totally changed the ancient Government.

Thus having shewed you briefly the Reasons why I cannot submit to your pretended Authority without violating the trust which I have from God for the welfare and liberty of my people, I expect from you either clear Reasons to convince my judgement, shewing me that I am in an Error, (and then truly I will readily answer) or that you will withdraw your proceedings.

¶ *This I intended to speak in* Westminster-hall *on Munday, 22 January, but against Reason was hindred to shew my Reason.*

Munday 29 January, 1648.

A true Relation of the Kings Speech to the Lady Elizabeth, and the Duke of Gloucester, the day before his Death.

His Children being come to meet him, he first gave his blessing to the Lady *Elisabeth*; and bade her remember to tell her brother *James*, when ever she should see him, That it was his Fathers last desire, that he should no more look upon *Charls* as his eldest Brother onely, but be obedient unto him, as his Soveraign; and that they should love one another, and forgive their Fathers Enemies. Then said the King to her, Sweet heart you' forget this: No, said she, I shall never forget it while I live: And pouring forth abundance of Tears promised Him to write down the Particulars.

Then the King taking the Duke of *Gloucester* upon his knee said, Sweet-heart, now they will cut off thy Fathers Head; (Upon which words the Child looked very stedfastly on him.) Mark Child what I say, They will cut off My Head, and perhaps make thee a King But mark what I say. You must not be a King, so long as your Brothers, *Charls* and *James* do live: For they will cut off your Brothers heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy head too at the last: and therefore, I charge you do not be made a King by them. At which the Child, sighing, said, I will be torn in pieces first. Which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.

Another Relation from the Lady Elisabeths *own Hand.*

WHat the King said to me the nine and twentieth of January 1648. being the last time I had the happiness to see Him; He told me, He was glad I was come: and although he had not time to say much, yet somewhat He had to say to me, which he had not to another, or leave in Writing, because He feared their cruelty was such as that they would not have permitted Him to write to me. He willed me not to grieve and torment

my self for Him; for that would be a glorious death that He should die; it being for the Laws and Liberties of this land, and for maintaining the true Protestant Religion. He bid me read Bishop *Andrews* Sermons, *Hookers Ecclesiastical Polity*, and Bishop *Lands* Book against *Fisher*, which would ground me against Popery. He told me, He had forgiven all His Enemies, and Hoped God would forgive them also; and commanded Us, and all the rest of my Brothers and Sisters to forgive them. He bid me tell my Mother, that His thoughts had never strayed from Her, and that His Love should be the same to the last. Withall He commanded me and my Brother to be obedient to Her. And bid me send His Blessing to the rest of my Brothers and Sisters, with Commendation to all His Friends: So after he had given me His Blessing I took my leave.

Further, He commanded Us all to forgive those people but never to trust them; for they had been most false to Him, and to those that gave them power, and He feared also to their own souls: And desired we not to grieve for Him; for He should die a Martyr. And that He doubted not but the Lord would settle His Throne upon his Son, and that We should be all happier, then We could have expected to have been, if He had lived: With many other things, which at present I cannot remember.

Another Relation from the Lady E. *Baberth.*

THe *KING* said to the Duke of *Glocester*, that He would say nothing to him but what was for the good of his soul: He told him, that He heard that the Army intended to make him King: but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his Soul; for he had two Brothers before him; and therefore commanded him upon His Blessing, never to [illegible] of it, unless it redounded lawfully [illegible] And commanded him to love the Lords, and would pray for him.

A Copie of a Letter which was sent from the PRINCE to the KING; Dated from the Hague *Jan.* 23. *Anno Dom.* 1648.

SIR,

HAving no means to come to the knowledge of your Majesties present condition, but such as I receive from the Prints, or (which is as uncertain) Report, I have sent this bearer Seamour to wait upon your Majestie; and to bring me an account of it: that I may withal assure your Majesty I do not only pray for your Majesty according to my Duty, but shall always be ready to do all which shall be in my power to deserve that blessing which I now humbly beg of your Majesty upon

SIR,

Your *Majesties*

[illegible],

most humble and most

[illegible]

obedient Son and

Servant *Charles*

The Superscription was thus

[illegible] KING

Asperam, at Lovem
Christi
Tracto

C R

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

THE POURTRACTURE OF HIS SACRED MAJESTIE IN HIS SOLITUDES AND SUFFERINGS

With

PRAYERS used in the time of His Restraint:

Also His MAJESTIES Reasons against the pretēded Jurisdiction of the *High Court of Justice.*

ROM. 8. More then Conqueror, &c.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.

Hereunto is annexed

A Letter from the Prince of Wales.

Reprinted in Regis Memoriam.

Anno 1649.

¶ An Epitaph upon King CHARLES.

So fals that ſtately Cedar; while it ſto
That was the onely glory of the Wood
Great *Charls*, thou earthly God, celeſtial M
Whoſe life, like others, though it were a ſpa
Yet in that ſpan, was comprehended more
Than Earth hath waters, or the Ocean ſto
Thy heavenly virtues, Angels ſhould rehea
It is a theam too high for humane Verſe:
He that would know thee right, then let h
look
Upon Thy rare-incomparable Book,
And read it o're and o're; which if he do
Heel find thee *King*, and *Prieſt*, and *Prophet*
And ſadly ſee our loſſe, and though in v
With fruitleſſe wiſhes call thee back again
Nor ſhall oblivion ſit upon thy Herſe,
Though there were neither Monument,
Verſe
Thy ſuffings & thy Death let no Man n
It was thy Glory, but the Kingdoms ſha

J. H.

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¶ To these are annexed,
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in the time of His Restraint
And a Copy of a letter from th
Prince *to the* KING. *Deliver*
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Scaffold.
Also *His intended Reasons* against
the High Court of Justice.
Likewise, *His* Majesties *Speech*
the Lady Elizabeth.

EIKΩ

...e Explantion of the Embleme

...Undaribus genus omne mali, probriq; gravatus
Vix; ferenda ferens palma ut depressa, resurg...

...velut undarum fluctus ventique furorem
...i populi rupes immota repello.

...ior è tenebris, cælestis stella, corusco,
...& æternum felici pace triumpho.

...splendentem rutilo, gemmisque decoram,
...gravidam spernendo calco Coronam.

...osam, at ferri facilem, quo spes mea, Christi
...ilio, Nobis vera est tractare voluptas.

...fidei semperque beatam,
...oculis specto; Nobisque paratam.

...d vanum est, sperno quod Christi Gratia *præbit*
...lecti studium est : virtutis Gloria *merce...*

...Hough cloggd with weights of miserie
As Palm depressd, I higher rise.

...d as th'unmoved Rock out braves
...boisterous winds, and raging waves.

...riumph I. And In dark Night
...d afflictions shine more bright.

...t splendid, but yet toilsom Crown
...ardlesly I trample down.

...h joy I take this Crown of Thorn,
...ugh sharp yet easie to be born.

...t glorious happy Crown I see,
...rivd whereof I cannot be.

...ght *vain* things, and do embrace
...the just reward of *Grace*.

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ

Upon His Majeſties calling this Laſt Parliament.

THis laſt Parliement I called, not more by others advice, and neceſsitie of my affairs, than by my own choiſe and inclination, who have alwaies thought the right way of Parliament, moſt ſafe for my Crown, as pleaſing to my People: And although I not forgetfull of thoſe ſparks which ſome diſtempers formerly ſtudied to kindle in aments, (which by forbearing to convene me years, I hoped to have extinguiſhed) ſolving with my ſelf to give all juſt ſatiſ. n to modeſt and ſober deſires, and to re- all publick grievances in Church and I hoped (by my Freedom and their Mo- ion) to prevent all miſ-underſtandings, miſcarriages in this: in which, as I feared, would meet with ſome paſſion and pre- in other men; ſo I reſolved they ſhould aſt of them in my ſelf not doubting, but weight of Reaſon I ſhould counter- he ove-balancing of any Factions. as indeed ſorry to hear with what par- e and popular heat Elections were car- many places; yet hoping that the gra- nd diſcretion of other Gentlemen would nd fix the Commons to a due tempera- guiding ſome means wel-meaning zeal

by such rules of moderation as are best
to preserve and restore the health of
States and Kingdoms:). No man was be
pleased, with the convening of this Pa
ment then my self; who knowing best
largeneſſe of my own Heart toward my
ples good and juſt contentment, pleaſed
ſelf most in that good and firm underſtan
which would hence grow between me and
People.

All jealouſies being laid aſide, my
and my Childrens Intereſts gave me
obligations to ſeek and preſerve the love
welfare of my Subjects. The onely temp
bleſsing that is left to the ambition o
Monarchs, as their greateſt Honour and
ty, next Gods protection; I cared not to l
my ſelf in ſome things of my wonted P
gative; ſince I knew I could be no loſer,
might gain but a recompence in my Sub
affections.

I intended not onely to oblige my fri
but mine enemies alſo; exceeding even
deſires of thoſe that were factiouſly di
rented, if they did but pretend to any m
and ſober ſenſe.

The *odium* and offences which ſome
rigour or remiſſneſſe in Church and State
contracted upon my Government, I reſ
to have expiated by ſuch Laws and Reg
ons for the future, as might not onely re
what was amiſſe in practice; but ſupply
was defective in the conſtitution: No ma
ving a great zeal to ſee Religion ſetled,
preſerved in Truth Unity, and order tha
ſelf, whom it moſt concerns both in
and policy; as knowing, that, No tha
civil diſſentions are more dangerous
thoſe which make religious pretenſions
grounds of Factions.

I reſolved to reform what I thou

e and full advice in Parliament be con-
ced to be amisse; and to grant what ever
Reason and Conscience told me was fit
be desired; I wish I had kept my self with-
those bounds, and not suffered my own
gement to have been overborn in some
gs, more by others Importunities, then
r Arguments; My confidence had lesse be-
ed my self and my Kingdoms to those
antages which some men sought for, who
ted nothing but power, and occasion to
mischief.

ut our sinnes being ripe, there was no pre-
ting of Gods Justice, from reaping that
ie in our calamities, which we rob'd him
our prosperity.

r thou O Lord hast made us see, that Re-
ion, of future Reforming do not alwaies
fie thy Justice, nor prevent thy vengeance
former miscarriages.

r sins have overlaid our hopes: Thou hast
t us to depend on thy mercies to forgive,
on our purpose to amend.

hen thou hast vindicated thy glory by thy
gements, and hast shewed us how unsafe it
offend thee, upon presumptions after-
s to please thee. Then I trust thy mer-
ill restore those blessings to us, which
ve so much abused, as to force thee to de-
us of them.

want of timely repentance of our sinnes,
giveſt us cause to Repent of those Re-
es we too late apply.

I do not Repen t of my calling this last
rliament, because, O Lord, I did it, wi h
ight intention to thy glory, and my
s good

miseries which have ensued upon me
y Kingdoms, are the just effects of thy
sure upon us; and may be yet (through

thy mercy) preparatives of us to future bl
ſings and better hearts to enjoy them.

O Lord, though thou haſt deprived us of m
ny former comforts; yet grant me and
People the benefit of our afflictions, and
chaſtiſements; that thy rod as well as thy
may comfort us: Then ſhall we dare to
count them the ſtrokes not of an enemy, b
Father: when thou giveſt us thoſe humble
fections, that meaſure of patience in rep
tance, which becomes thy Children; I
have no cauſe to repent the miſeries this
liament hath occaſioned, when by them
haſt brought Me and my People unfeign
to repent of the ſins we have committed

Thy Grace is infinitely better with
ſufferings, then our peace could be with ou

O thou Soveraign goodneſſe and wiſd
who over-ruleſt all our Counſels; over
alſo all our hearts, that the worſe thing
ſuffer by thy Juſtice, the better we may
thy Mercy.

As our ſins have turned our Antidote
Poyſon, ſo let thy Grace turn our Poyſo
to Antidotes.

As the ſins of our Peace diſpoſed us t
unhappy War, ſo let this war prepare
thy bleſſed Peace.

That although I have but troub
Kingdoms here, yet I may attain
Kingdom of Peace in my Heart, and
Heaven, which Chriſt hath purchaſe
thou wilt give to thy ſervant (though a
for my Saviours ſake, *Amen.*

---

2 *Upon the Earl of* Straffords *de*

I Looked upon my Lord of *Straffo*
Gentleman, whoſe great abilitie
make a Prince rather afraid, then aſha
employ him in the greateſt affairs of
For thoſe were prone to create in h

nfidence of undertakings, and this was like
ough to betray him to great errours, and
ny enemies: Whereof he could not but con-
ct good store, while moving in so high a
ear, and with so vigorous a lustre, he must
eds (as the Sun raise meny envious exhala-
ns, which condensed by a popular *odium*,
e capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest
ri:, and integrity.

hough I cannot in my Judgement approve
he did, driven (it may be) by the necessi-
of times, and the Temper of that People,
e then led by his own disposition to any
hth and rigour of actions, yet I could ne-
be convinced of any such criminousnesse in
, as willingly to expose his life to the
e of Justice, and malice of his enemies.
never met with a more unhappy conjun-
e of affairs, then in the businesse of that un-
nate Earl: when between my own unsatis-
esse in Conscience, and a necessitie (as
told me) of satisfying the importunities
me people; I was perswaded by those, that
nk wished me well, to chuse rather what
safe, then what seemed just; preferring the
ard peace of my Kingdoms with men, be-
that inward exactnesse of Conscience be-
God.

d indeed I am so far from excusing or de-
that compliance on my part: for plenary
nt it was not, to his destruction, whom
judgement I thought not, by any clear
guilty of death: That I never bare any
of Conscience with greater regret:
as a sign of my repentance, I have often
orrow confessed both to God and men,
act of so sinfull frailtie, that it discoverd
fear of man, then of God, whose name
ace on earth no man is worthy to bear,
avoid inconveniences of State by acts
gh injustice, as no publick convenience
plate or compensate.

I see it a bad exchange to wound a mor
own Conscience, thereby to salve State-sor
to calm the storms of popular discontents, N
stirring up a tempest in a mans own boson
Nor hath Gods Justice failed in the ev
and sad consequences, to shew the world
fallacy of that Maxim, *Better one man pe*
(though unjustly) then the people be displeas
destroyed: For,
In all likelyhood, I could never have su
ed, with my People, greater calamities, (th
with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Str*
fords innocency, at least by denying to sign
destructive *Bill*, according to that Justice, w
my Conscience suggested to me, then I ough
done since I gratified some mens unthan
importunities with so cruell a favour. A
have observed that those, who counselled
to sign that *Bill*, have been so far from re
ving the rewards of such ingratiatings
the People, that no men have been har
and crushed more then they. He onely
been least vexest by them, who counselled
not to consent against the vote of my
Conscience; I hope God hath forgiven
and them the sinfull rashnes of that busi
To which being in my soul so fully co
ous, those judgements God hath pleas
send upon me, are so much the more wel
as a means (I hope) which his mercy ha
ctified so to me, as to make me repent o
unjust Act, (for so it was to me) and f
future to teach me, That the best rule of
is to prefer the doing of Justice, befo
enjoyments; and the peace of my Consc
before the preservation of my Kingdom
Nor hath any thing more fortified my
lutions against all those vio ent importu
which since have sought to gain alike co
from me to Acts, wherein my Conscie
unsatisfied, then the sharp touches I ha

or what passed me in my Lord of *Staffords* usinesse

Not that I resolved to have employed him my affairs, against the advice of my Parliment, but I would not have had any hand in is Death, of whose Guiltlesnesse I was better assured then any man living could be.

Nor were the crimes objected against him so ear, as after a long and fair hearing, to give onvincing satisfaction to the Major part of oth Houses; especially that of the Lords, of hom scarce a third part were present, when e Bill passed that House: And for the House Commons many Gentlemen, disposed enough to diminish my Lord of *Straffords* greatesse and power, yet unsatisfied of his guilt in aw, durst not condemn him to die: who for eir integritie in their Votes, were by posting eir names, exposed to the popular calumny, tred and furie; which grew then so exorbiant in their clamours *for Justice*, that is, to ave both my self and the two Houses Vote, nd do as they would have us, that many, 'tis ought, were rather terrified to concur with e condemning partie, then satisfied that of ght they ought so do.

And that after Act vacating the Authority the precedent, for future imitation, sufficiently tels the world, that some remorse touched ven his most implacable enemies, as knowing e had very hard measure, and such as they ould be very loth should be repeated to emselves.

This tendernesse and regret I find in my ul, for having had any hand (and that very nwillingly God knows) in shedding one ans bloud unjustly, though under the colour nd formalities of Justice and pretences of voiding publick mischief: which may I hope e some evidence before God and Man, to all osteritie, that I am far from bearing justly

the vast load and guilt of all that bloud wh
hath bin shed in this unhappy War; which so
men will needs charge on me, to ease their
souls, who am, and ever shall be more afrai
take away any mans life unjustly, than to
my own.

BUt thou, O God, of thy infinite mercies
give me that act of sinfull compliance, w
hath greater aggravations upon me then
man, Since I had not the least temptatio
envy, or malice against him, and by my p
should, at least so far, have been a preserv
him, as to have denied my consent to his
struction.

O Lord, I acknowledge my transgres
and my sin is ever before me.

Deliver me from bloud-guiltinesse, O
thou God of my salvation, and my to
shall sing of thy righteousnesse

Against thee have I sinned, and done
evil in thy sight: for thou saw'st the co
diction between my heart and hand.

Yet cast me not away from thy prese
purge me with the bloud of my Redeeme
I shall be clean, wash me with that pre
Effusion, and I shall be whiter then snow.

Teach me to learn Righteousnesse by
Judgements, and to see my frailtie in thy
stice: while I was perswaded by shedding
mans bloud to prevent after troubles, thou
for that, among other sinnes, I brought u
and upon my Kingdoms, great, long,
heavie troubles.

Make me to prefer Justice which is thy
before all contrary clamours, which are bu
discoveries of mans injurious will.

It is too much that they have once
come, me to please them by displeasing
O never suffer me for any reason of State
go against thee, the God of Reason, and J
of our Consciences.

Whatevtr, O Lord, thou ſeeſt fit to deprive
of, yet reſtore unto me the joy of thy
vation, and ever uphold me with thy free
it which Subjects my will to none; but
light of Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion,
ich ſhines in my Soul: for thou deſireſt
uth in the inward parts, and integritie in
outward expreſſions.
Lord hear the voice of thy Sons, and my Sa-
urs bloud, which ſpeaks better things; O-
ke me and my People, to hear the voice of
and Gladneſſe, that the bones which thou
broken, may rejoyce in thy Salvation.

Upon His Majeſties going to the Houſe of Commons.

MY going to the houſe of Commons to demand Juſtice upon the five Members, an act, which mine enemies loded with all obliquues and exaſperations they could. t filled indiffe ent men with great jealouſand fears, yea, and many of my friends reed it as a motion riſing rather from paſſion n reaſon, and not guided with ſuch diſcretias the touchineſſe o thoſe times required. But theſe men knew not the juſt motives, pregnant grounds, with which I thought ſelf ſo furniſhed, that there needed nothing uch evidence as I could have produced inſt thoſe I charged, ſave merely a free and l Triall which was all I deſired.
Nor had I any temptation of diſpleaſure, or enge againſt thoſe mens perſons, further n I had diſcovered thoſe, as I thought, ul- full correſpondencies they had uſed, and agements they had made to embroyl my gdoms: of all which I miſed but little to e produced writings under ſome mens own ds, who were the chief contrivers of the owing Innovations.